THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. 30, No. 2

APRIL, 1947

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Samuel Jarvis Peters, by Rita Katherine Carey.

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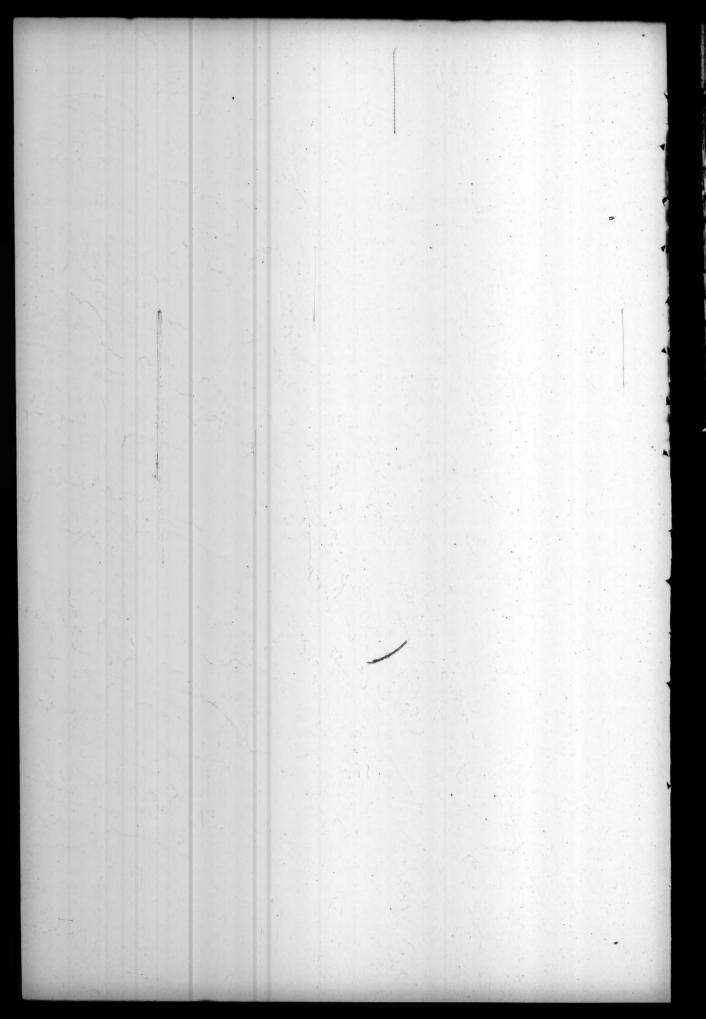
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DIARY OF CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS FROM NEW ORLEANS TO ST. LOUIS, 1836¹

Edited by JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT

INTRODUCTION

I

The story of the Delassus family in America begins with the emigration of the Chevalier Pierre Charles de Hault de Lassus de Luzières (also known as the Marquis de Lassus) from his native Hainault to Pennsylvania. Descended from an ancient family of Flanders, he was the son of Charles Philippe de Hault de Lassus, hereditary mayor of Bouchain and King's Councillor, and of Anne Marguerite Josephe, daughter of Pierre Charles d'Arlot and Jeanne Marie Gallet.² Pierre Charles was born 9 March 1739 and married on 13 May 1765 Domitilde Josephe, daughter of Nicholas Joseph Dumont (Siegneur of Beaufort and Echevin of the City of Bouchain) and Jeanne Augustine Breda. They had five children: Pierre Joseph Domitile (born 19 September 1766), Charles Auguste (born 17 November 1767), Jacques Marcelin Ceran (born in March 1770—he later added St. Vrain to his name to distinguish himself from his brother

¹ I wish to acknowledge my very real indebtedness in the preparation of this diary for publication: To Mrs. M. L. Robinson of Centreville, Mississippi, descendant of Charles Dehault Delassus and owner of the diary, for permission to publish and for the loan of the original manuscript. To Mrs. Anna B. Bracey, Secretary of the Romance Language Department of Louisiana State University, for an excellent transcription of a very difficult original as well as for the translation here printed. To Dr. William R. Hogan and the Department of Archives of Louisiana State University for making arrangements for my use of this material and for other aid. To Mrs. George E. Johnson of St. Louis, sister of the owner of the diary, for the use of her collection of Delassus Papers.

² All genealogical information concerning this family is drawn from the notes accumulated by Judge Walter C. Douglas for a genealogy which he did not live to complete. His materials are preserved in the Delassus Papers at the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis. Charles Philippe, grandfather of the diarist, was born 18 November 1714, married 21 February 1737, received lettres de reconnaissance de noblesse in 1780, and died two years later.

Charles Auguste), Jeanne Felicité Odille (born 23 March 1773), and Philippe Francois Camille (born 20 December 1778). Pierre Charles was a man of wealth and position in his province. According to his son, in addition to being hereditary mayor of the town, he was subdelegate of finances, receiver of taxes, treasurer-general of the province of Hainault, and filled half a dozen other positions. On 17 February 1786 he was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael. Moses Austin, who visited Pierre Charles de Luzières at New Bourbon in 1797, was told that the Chevalier and his wife had had in France an income of 45,000 crowns (135,000 livres) which had been seized by the republican government.³

Having taken an active part in the royalist counter-revolutionary struggles, Pierre de Luzières was forced to leave France. Sometime in 1790 or 1791, with his wife, their daughter Odille, and youngest son Camille, and accompanied by young Pierre Derbigny, he embarked from Havre for the United States. Although he was in some way involved in the colonizing scheme of the Marquis de Marnésia, on arrival in America he settled not on the Scioto but at Pittsburg. There Derbigny, school friend of the oldest son, married Odille in 1793; this couple, after living for a few years in the Illinois country, was to settle permanently in Louisiana in 1800.4

The prospects of the Chevalier on the Ohio must soon have faded, for in 1793 we find him in partnership with Pierre Audrain and Barthélemi Tardiveau for the establishment of a colony of French emigrés in Upper Louisiana and the building of flour mills at Ste. Genevieve and New Madrid. The plan put forward at New Orleans in April 1793 to bring one hundred families from Gallipolis to a settlement to be called New Bourbon never officially matured. Nevertheless, his conferences in the provincial capital with his countryman and boyhood friend, the Baron de Carondelet, led to his removal to Ste. Genevieve before

³ Moses Austin, "Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey . . . to the Lead Mines in the Province of Louisiana . . .," American Historical Review, V (April, 1900), 541.

⁴ Most of the account in this and the next paragraph comes from a sketch Charles Delassus wrote in 1836 to inform his son, then about to leave on a trip to France, of family origins and of the writer's own career. It is preserved in the Delassus Papers at the Missouri Historical Society.

⁵ For the New Bourbon project, consult Louis Houck, Spanish Regime in Missouri (2 vols., Chicago, 1909), I, 373-409; Houck, History of Missouri (3 vols., Chicago, 1908), I, 362 ff.; and Howard C. Rice, Barthélemi Tardiveau, a French Trader in the West (Baltimore, 1938), 40-47.

the close of 1793.6 During this time the family apparently had remained in Pittsburg, for Madame de Luzières reached Upper Louisiana in February, 1794.7

Authorized by Carondelet to establish the town of New Bourbon and named commandant of the post, Pierre de Luzières remained in command of it until the transfer of Louisiana ten years later. In 1798 Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, described this village (which no longer exists) as being twenty leagues above Cape Girardeau. It was "located on a hill, which commands a low point, about one league broad, between the Misisipi and the said hill. . . . That village, whose population consists of 461 persons of both sexes, including the plantation of La Salina and others, has [been] separated from the village of Santo Genevova, in order to give its command to Monsieur de Luziere."8 His command apparently included the territory as far west as Murphy's settlement (present day Farmington, Missouri). In addition to the recognition given to him by this office, he and members of his family received from Carondelet generous grants of land. At New Bourbon on 2 January 1798 the Chevalier petitioned Trudeau for one hundred arpents on the south fork of the Saline for the establishing of a maple sugar manufactory.9 Previously, on 3 March 1795, he requested a grant of a league square (seven hundred and fifty-six arpents) on one of the branches of the St. Francois River about twelve miles from New Bourbon, for the purpose of lead-mining. At this time he expected his eldest son, who was "well learned in mineralogy," to come to America from Germany; but it was Camille who was to be associated with his father in this venture.10

After the transfer of Louisiana, the Chevalier continued to live at New Bourbon as a private citizen until his death in December, 1806. He and his wife (who had pre-deceased him in

⁶ By December, 1793, according to Houck, Spanish Regime in Missouri, II, 57. From another source it is apparent that he must have left New Orleans immediately after the conferences in the spring, for he declared that he arrived in the Illinois Country in August 1793—during that summer and fall he suffered from a "long and cruel disease" (24th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 59, pp. 198-199).

⁷ Houck, Spanish Regime in Missouri, II, 69. ⁸ Houck, Spanish Regime in Missouri, II, 248.

²⁴th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 59, p. 71.

^{10 24}th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 59, pp. 198-204. Pierre Domitile on the execution of Louis XVI had fled to Germany but later returned to France; he was the only member of the family who did not come to America. The third son, Jacques Marcelin Ceran (de St. Vrain), who had been an officer of the French navy, came over separately and during the last decade of Spanish possession commanded a Spanish gunboat on the Mississippi.

July of that year) were both buried in Ste. Genevieve. Of the style in which they had lived in Missouri it is possible to say little, for the probate papers of his estate are not to be found. Nevertheless, we know from Moses Austin that Madame de Luzières had preserved some remnants of her former grandeur, for she had hanging in her bedroom a large painting "representing a grand Festival given by the citizens of Paras to the Queen, on the birth of the Dauphin and a Parade of all the Nobles on the same Occation"; and from a letter by Marie Philippe Leduc to Charles Delassus concerning the settlement of the father's estate we learn that the Chevalier had brought with him or had later accumulated a library of more than six hundred volumes.¹¹

II

Had it not been for the emigration of his father, Charles de Hault de Lassus would never have come to America, for at the time of the French Revolution he was enjoying a successful career in the Spanish army. In 1782 he had received a commission as ensign in the Royal Walloon Guards Regiment. Eleven years later, for gallant action at the head of his company in the assault on Fort St. Elmo in the Pyrenees, Captain de Lassus was promoted to (brevet) lieutenant-colonel and was given command of a battalion of the King's bodyguard at Madrid. Though his permanent grade at this time was still only lieutenant of grenadiers, it is obvious that he was well started on a promising career.

It was at this time that Charles received from his father a letter that completely changed his life. The Chevalier recounted the lack of success his enterprises in the United States had met with and the resultant dissipation of the funds he had managed to carry away from France. Having discovered that the Governor of Louisiana was his childhood friend, he had gone down the Ohio to see him with the consequence that he had established with Carondelet's approval the post of New Bourbon. Charles was touched by loneliness and desire to help his family. Although his services as an officer in the Royal Guards gave him a place of great advantage, he declared to his son in 1836, he could no

¹¹ Delassus Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

¹² Charles Delassus to his son, 1836; Frederick L. Billon, Annals of St. Louis . . . under French and Spanish Dominations (St. Louis, 1886), 385-388.

longer stay where he was; he determined to abandon all to rejoin his family in America. He thereupon begged the king that he might be transferred to the regiment of Louisiana in order that he might be useful to his family while continuing in the royal service. Transfer in brevet rank was granted him on 8 August 1794; his request for permanent grade as lieutenant-colonel was denied, and instead he was allowed the pay of a captain.¹³

Three days after the transfer was granted he requested his passport, but he did not sail from Cadiz until 8 May 1795. He arrived at Havana on the 11th of July. How long he remained in the Cuban capital I do not know, but he probably spent the winter at New Orleans. The Baron de Carondelet named him civil and military commandant of New Madrid and on 8 March 1796 he left New Orleans for his new post. His boat, handled by a crew of fourteen rowers and a patron, was loaded with "tafia, vin, bierre et autres marchandises seches le toute a mon compte." As passengers he carried Louis Vandenbenden and Barthélemi Tardiveau. At last on the morning of 14 May they met the boat of M. Langlois, which that morning had left New Madrid and which gave the colonel news of his entire family. A day or two later he was at his post. 15

For three years Charles de Lassus officiated at New Madrid. Information about his career there remains to be dug out of the Cuban Papers of the Archives at Seville, but his performance of duty was sufficiently good for Carondelet's successor to name him lieutenant-governor for Upper Louisiana (the New Madrid District, formerly a separate command, was now added to the Western Part of the Illinois to form Upper Louisiana). He relieved Zenon Trudeau & St. Louis on 29 July 1799.16

During his five years at St. Louis Colonel de Lassus seems to have pleased both the local citizens and his superiors. Among the more spectacular events was the great council with the Osages held at the close of August, 1800. It must have been an

^{13 &}quot;Brevet" rank at that time differed from "temporary" rank in the American army today in that an officer drew the pay of his permanent grade, not of his brevet. A later request by Colonel Delassus from New Madrid on 25 June 1797 for the pay of a lieutenant-colonel was also rejected. The pay of a captain in the Spanish army at this time was 62 pesos per month; of a lieutenant-colonel 140 pesos (Houck, Spanish Regime in Missouri, II, 239-244).

^{14 &}quot;Minute de ma route de Madrid a la havanne," Delassus Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

^{15 &}quot;Journal from New Orleans to New Madrid," Delassus Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

¹⁶ Houck, Spanish Regime in Missouri, II, 264-272.

exciting day in that frontier capital when Cheveux Blancs at the head of two hundred warriors brought in the chief of the Chenière band which had been responsible for the killing of two white men. Great praise the Lieutenant-Governor had for Pierre Choteau's effective handling of the Osage at this meeting.¹⁷

A little more than a year later Colonel de Lassus arranged a demonstration of military strength in connection with the punishment of some Maskou Indians who had killed a settler in the New Madrid District. He called out the militia of Ste. Genevieve, Plattin Creek, New Bourbon, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid. By 20 December all units were assembled at the latter place. The five Indians responsible for the death of David Trotter were tried and one was sentenced to death. The execution took place with full military solemnity. After careful inspection of his militia units, the commander issued new orders for better organization of the New Madrid contingents; Lorimier and his Cape Girardeau men were highly praised.¹⁸

The climax of this tour of duty was the transfer of Louisiana. Official orders came to the Lieutenant-Governor (who since 1803 had been a brevet colonel) from the Marquis de Casa Calvo instructing him to make formal transfer of Upper Louisiana to Captain Amos Stoddard, U.S.A., representing France. In preparation for the evacuation Colonel de Lassus on 23 February 1804 issued a special order to his troops:

From this day forth all of this detachment, including the guard, shall keep themselves in full uniform and with strict regard to cleanliness, etc. so that all the garrison will be in readiness to take arms at the first verbal order through Sergeant Juan Robayna to evacuate the fort, with arms at the shoulder and knapsacks on the back.

Pursuant to this order none will absent himself from quarters either by day or night except those necessarily so, such as water-carriers, hostlers, etc., until the day of the delivery of these fortifications to the United States.

As all of this detachment is composed of individuals the major part of whom have been long in the service and know how to comport themselves in a praiseworthy manner, the Commandant expects that from the day of the transfer and afterwards until we take up the line of march to embody

¹⁷ Houck, Spanish Regime in Missouri, II, 301-312.

¹⁸ Houck, Spanish Regime in Missouri, II, 318-321; Houck, History of Missouri, I, 335-336; Billon, Annals of St. Louis . . . under the French and Spanish Dominations, 316-332.

ourselves with our countrymen each man will so conduct himself to uphold the reputation of the Spanish troops so justly acquired and extolled for ages past, and I flatter myself that during the time they remain at this post their conduct will be such as to earn for themselves the respect and esteem of the American troops.

At the moment when the United States Commandant will enter this government House to receive possession he will be saluted from the fort by a salvo from all the cannon that are mounted and in battery. This will be carried into execution by a signal from a soldier stationed for the purpose at the corner of the gallery of the house, by waving his hat to the sentinel at the fort, when the firing will commence, taking good care that there will be a regular interval of time between each successive discharge.19

Two days later Stoddard was in St. Louis. Arrangements were perfected slowly and on 9 March the Spanish flag came down and the French flag was raised over the town. For one day, officially, St. Louis was French. On the 10th the second transfer took place, and all that remained for Colonel de Lassus to do was to assemble the possessions and personnel of Spain and remove them to Spanish territory in Florida.20

The evacuation of St. Louis proved by no means an easy job, for available boats were not strong enough to carry the artillery, ammunition, and other heavy goods which the late commandant was to take down the river. Finally Auguste Chouteau agreed to build the necessary boats. On the morning of 16 November 1804 Colonel de Lassus and his staff embarked on one boat and sixtyseven clerks and soldiers on three others. He made a slow progress down the river, stopping at the various posts in his late territory to take over the non-local portion of the archives and other Spanish property, and at last reached New Orleans on 18 January 1805.21

Of the career of Colonel Delassus²² during the next several years very little seems to be known. He reported to Pensacola, Spanish capital of the Floridas, and in 1807 was allowed a long

Houck, History of Missouri, II, 359.
 Of. Houck, History of Missouri, II, 356-369; "Transfer of Upper Louisians—Papers of Captain Amos Stoddard," Glimpses of the Past (Missouri Historical Society), II (1934-35), 78-122.

²¹ A journal kept by Charles Delassus on this trip is preserved in the Delassus Papers, Missouri Historical Society. It is summarized in Houck, History of Missouri, II, 366-369.

⁹² His name properly written in the French style was de Hault de Lassus, and I have so given it during the earlier part of his life. However, about this time (and certainly after he left the Spanish service) he began writing it Dehault Delassus and as initials used C. D. D. Consequently, I now use his own style of signing his name.

leave of absence to go to France to settle some private affairs.²³ His next place of duty was Baton Rouge, but a brief summary of conditions there will best introduce the least happy episode in his career.

It will be remembered that though France in 1763 had ceded to England all territory east of the Mississippi River except New Orleans, the Spanish continued to occupy the east bank as far upriver as present day Memphis.24 Even the cession of 1803 did not eliminate Spain from the Mississippi Valley, for Spanish officials remained in possession of the long disputed Baton Rouge district of West Florida. In general one can say that the Spanish were determined to retain West Florida against American aggression, but made little effort to fortify. Vincente Folch had now become the Spanish governor with his headquarters at Pensacola and Captain Charles de Grand Pré was in immediate command at Baton Rouge. The mildness of Grand Pré preserved order and Spanish rule for a few more years, but conditions were fast ripening for a change. An insurrection in 1804 by the Anglo-Americans who resented not being included in the transfer of Louisiana was suppressed, but other troubles soon agitated the region, not the least of which was the Burr episode. Although in the face of much difficulty and ever increasing pressure Grand Pré had maintained Spanish authority in the district, he was removed by Folch and on 27 December 1808 Colonel Delassus relieved him at Baton Rouge.

The situation when the latter took over was rapidly deteriorating. The almost completely American population had become determined on self-government and had in fact already moved toward an orderly participation in local affairs by an assembly in Grand Pré's time. Colonel Delassus was expected to meet this difficult situation firmly and suppress even the hint of rebellion from these colonists of the Spanish crown. To aid him the new Commandant had a fort in ruinous condition and a handful of men.²⁵ Presently he gave permission for the holding of popular assemblies, but in the light of local conditions he had

²⁸ So Houck, History of Missouri, II, 369, n. 11.

For West Florida affairs consult Isaac Joslin Cox, The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1818 (Baltimore, 1918).
 Cox, The West Florida Controversy, 375-377.

little choice. A general convention for the Baton Rouge district was held in July, 1810, but although a majority favored annexation to the United States, the convention acted in the name of Ferdinand VII. The inadequacy of Spanish support for his district is clearly indicated when we see that in Bayou Sara, one of the American storm centers, an officer and three soldiers formed the entire garrison. At the fort at Baton Rouge there were fourteen regular soldiers available for duty on 3 September 1810, with four others in hospital and two absent from duty.26 The entire detail of Spanish soldiers for the whole district of Baton Rouge seems to have consisted of thirty-two privates and non-commissioned officers. The Commandant early in 1809 had informed Pensacola that his fort was in ruins, but had no reply to his report—on one occasion when he reported the death of the drummer, he was instructed to send back the drum! Certainly there was little aid to be expected from his superiors.²⁷

The Commandant then was forced into the position of agreeing with many of the proposals of the convention. Finally, his difficulties with the people of his district and with his superiors at Pensacola were brought to a head—and ended, if not solved—by an attack on the fort and the capture of his person. At that moment (23 September 1810) the garrison consisted of fourteen regular soldiers, two artillerymen, two lieutenants, and ten militia; the attacking force was about eighty strong. An ineffective resistance was made which resulted in the deaths of Lieutenant Grand Pré and one soldier. The late Governor of Baton Rouge was held prisoner until December.

This episode marked the close of Charles Delassus' service with the Spanish. He had become disgusted and wearied, he told his son in 1836, with the unworthy service of the authorities at Pensacola and Havana who had failed to attend to his representations or to assist him in maintaining a defenceless post. Consequently, after the taking of the fort he had written to them that his health would no longer permit him to continue in the military service. For their part the Spanish authorities at Pensacola in March 1811 began a formal inquiry into the fall of Baton Rouge;

²⁶ Cox, The West Florida Controversy, 360-361.

²⁷ Charles Delassus' defense of his actions, although summarized by Cox (The West Florida Controversy, 375-377), is too long to reproduce here.

the investigation was continued at Havana (where the late Commandant declined to appear), and eventually in August, 1814, a courtmartial sentenced Charles Delassus to death.²⁸

Henceforth Charles Delassus was a private ciitzen of Louisiana and Missouri. On 19 March 1811 at New Orleans he married Adelaide, daughter of Gilberto Leonard, who had been one of his associates at Baton Rouge. His son Auguste was born 4 July 1813. Two other children (twins?) died in infancy. This happy quiet life was broken after about five years of marriage by the death of Madame Delassus. The Colonel then (1816) moved to St. Louis with his little boy. He bought a twenty arpent place lying between the Carondelet road and the river, a little below the mill creek and next to the home of his friend Antoine Soulard. There he lived for ten years. Not much in detail is known about his later life. Some reflection of it may be seen in the present diary in which he writes much about the friends whom he had known so well in his earlier times in St. Louis. He lived in close companionship with his son for whom he obviously had great affection. Probably he enjoyed reading, for in addition to the books which had come to him from his father, he had accumulated many more. For nstance, in 1820 he bought from Braud and Detandebaratz of St. Louis a French grammar for the boy and a complete set of the works of Madame de Genlis. Among other authors in his library were Corneille, Racine, Boileau, J. J. Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Montaigne, Marivaux, and La Fontaine. In addition to numerous volumes on the useful arts, he had a number of works on history. Altogether his collection must have numbered over six hundred volumes.29

In 1826 Delassus returned to Louisiana where he made his home for the rest of his life and returned to St. Louis only for the six months visit in 1836 recorded in the present diary. According to Billon (Annals of St. Louis . . . under the French and Spanish Dominations, 338) and Houck (History of Missouri, II, 369, n. 11) he died at New Orleans 1 May 1842. However, Missouri Supreme Court Reports (XI, 44) gives his death date as just one year later. 30 As a soldier and as an official he met with

²⁸ My account of Charles Delassus at Baton Rouge is based on Cox, The West Florida Controversy, 325-413 (whose material was chiefly from the Spanish Archives) and on 25th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Document No. 401. I think Cox a bit unfair in the conclusions he drew.

²⁹ For the detail of his library see my Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis (Baltimore, 1938), 115-128.

³⁰ I was unable to find the record of his estate in the probate files at New Orleans. The file at St. Louis contained only the record of lands held in Missouri.

some success; as a man of business he seems to have had no skill. Throughout his life one notes his devotion to his family—father and mother, brothers and sister, his son and his nephews and nieces—and the complete assurance of the affection and honesty of his friends that reflects his own integrity and feeling. John Darby, who was a young man in 1836 when Colonel Delassus made his last visit to St. Louis, described him as a man "of most elegant manners, an accomplished gentleman, and of pleasing and winning address." But his private character can best be read from such a diary as he kept on this last visit to the town and to the people whom he knew so well and affectionately.

III

I have said that Colonel Delassus was not a good businessman: it was apparently the sadly complicated state of his finances that led to the trip recorded in this diary. Holding considerable grants in Missouri lands from colonial days he thought that by their sale he could clear himself of debt and perhaps have enough left over to keep him in comfort for his remaining years. That hope of settlement was to remain a dream, for at his death he still owned most of his Missouri lands and was still considerably in debt to his friend and man of business, Marie Philippe Leduc. Nevertheless, some good has accrued at least from this journey to St. Louis, for it has given us not merely a detailed account of six months in the life of the diarist but also a most interesting view of that rapidly growing town and many sidelights on the French people of that place.

About one-tenth of the journal is given over to the journey upriver from New Orleans. Ten days marked by nothing unusual except the absence of gamblers and sickness and accidents brought the George Collier to St. Louis on the 8th of July. Arriving at seven in the evening Delassus wrote that they "were obliged to go the whole length of the city in order to find a place because of the great quantity of steamboats from all ports of the South and West." Because it was raining heavily, he stayed aboard overnight but that did not prevent him from enjoying "a magnificent and imposing view in looking at this city built on the hill" which had grown so considerably since he had last seen it ten years before.

³¹ Personal Recollections . . . (St. Louis, 1880), 460.

The next day he went to the Soulard home and his journal is now almost a directory of the French families, some of whom he had known for forty years. With him we meet Henry Gustave Soulard and his wife, Pierre Chouteau and Pierre Chouteau junior, Gabriel S. Chouteau, Marie Philippe Leduc, Frémon de Lauriere, his sister-in-law Madame St. Vrain and numerous of her children and grandchildren, four or five of the Papin brothers, René and Gabriel Paul, Jacques DeMun, Bernard Pratte junior, Jean Pierre Cabanné, Mme. Auguste Chouteau, Mme. Bonneville (the wife of Tom Paine's friend and mother of Captain—later General -Bonneville), Bishop Rosati, Condé Benoit, Henry Choteau, the widows of Antoine Saugrain and John Hamilton Robinson, Arend Rutgers, the Provenchere ladies, Frederick Saugrain, the LaBeaumes, Silvestre Labbadie, the Dubreuil ladies, his brother Camille's son Leon—in fact, we meet everybody and his wife. Among comparative newcomers we see Luke Lawless of the bench and bar, General Ashley just back from Congress, Dr. Farrar, Henry von Phul, Theodore McGill, W. P. Hunt-there are not many men of prominence in St. Louis in that day who are not mentioned in the diary.

With the old Colonel we ride about town, listen to old times and see the booming growth of the once familiar place. The new church (cathedral) is "very beautiful... in a modern, elegant taste." He visits a little sadly the old farm where he had lived for ten years and had lost in 1826. We go with him to the Frémon place three miles out of town. One night "the men and the chattering prostitutes" in a nearby dancehall "made so much noise that I hardly slept." Another time his slave Augustine is stabbed in a Saturday night brawl at a Negro dance. Madame Auguste Chouteau talks with him about the burial place of the first Madame Choteau in the old church.

One day he goes to the north of the city to call on several old friends and is astonished to find a great number of buildings, residences, factories, mills, and the like where there had been only two or three houses. On his way home he stops in to look at a new steam planing mill. Another day he walks along the shores of Choteau Pond noting the pretty houses that have lately been built on this picturesque site. He reports at some length "the terrible news of the assassination of Louis Philippe" to add a few days later an explanation of the hoax. He notes that "the

city is full as an egg. The new arrivals no longer know where to alight; the inns, boarding-houses, and private persons who receive boarders—there is no room any where." And through all this like a recurrent theme there is talk and more talk about confirmation of land claims, plans for sale, settlement of debts. Presently some sales are made and a settlement is arrived at with Leduc that pleases all. Then at last on Christmas day Delassus says good-by for the last time to his most intimate friends and leaves for New Orleans.

It is a diary rich in interest for all who know and enjoy the trans-Mississippi West in those yet early days.

DIARY FROM NEW ORLEANS TO ST. LOUIS, STATE OF MISSOURY

[Tuesday] June 28, 1836

I embarked on the steamboat George Collier¹ at 6:00 o'clock in the morning with Augustin, my son's negro. We got under way at 8:30.

Captain Teylor [Taylor], former barge² pilot. The second in command or clerk, Mr. Waldon.³ Passengers in the stateroom: thirty. Fine weather all night.

[Wednesday, June] 29

At 8:30 in the morning we passed before Donaldsonville, having stopped at least three hours to load sugar and molasses⁴ at a plantation.

Eighty miles and more from New Orleans. At 6:30 in the evening passed in front of Baton Rouge. 120 miles from New Orleans. Weather stormy and rainy.

¹ Although in all other references to this steamboat, the diarist called it the Collel, there can be no doubt that it was the George Collier. It continued in operation until 6 May 1839. On that day, when the Collier was about eighty miles below Natchez enroute to St. Louis, a piston-rod gave way, a cylinder-head was blown off, and the boiler-stand carried away. Of the forty-five persons scalded by escaping steam, twenty-six died. (J. T. Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County [2 vols., Philadelphia, 1883], 11, 1108, n. 3).

² Ms. reads chalan. Possibly flatboat would be a more satisfactory translation. The implication is that Captain Taylor was an old river man. According to Timothy Flint the Mississippi River barge was a vessel "the size of an Atlantic schooner... carried from fifty to a hundred tons... required twenty-five or thirty hands to work it upstream" (A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley [2 vols., Cincinnati, 1828], I, 229-230).

³ The St. Louis Commercial Bulletin, 23 September 1836, mentioned "T. M. Weldon of the Geo. Collier." Taylor's first name, we learn later in the diary, was William.

⁴ Ms. reads syrop, the local word for molasses.

[Thursday] June 30

Diary continued.

Between 9:00 and 10:00 o'clock in the morning passed opposite Red River, having traveled well all night. Good health on board. We stop often to land some passengers and to take on others. [blank in ms.] miles from New Orleans. Weather cloudy and quite cool. In the afternoon pretty weather, warm, but pleasant on board. Arrived at Natchez⁵ at 7:30 in the evening. The Captain allowed the passengers to go on land, having sent there to replenish his provisions. I wrote to my sister, the widow, Madam Derbigny,6 addressed to her son Charles, and I begged her to inform the family of my son's wife that I am well, have a good captain, am well treated, etc., and the stateroom is well composed, because I cannot write to her before my arrival at St. Louis, etc. 9:15 o'clock no one has yet returned on board: at 10:00 o'clock everyone has returned. With those gone ashore and the newcomers, have almost the same number. 300 miles from New Orleans. Continued on the way at 10:15. Beautiful night, good progress. A woman sick since this morning—one of the deck passengers. There is a doctor on board. He treats her. He says that it is nothing.

[Friday] July 1

Fine progress all night. Arrived at the city of Roldney⁸ at 8:45; landed to take on four ladies and two gentlemen for the stateroom. We overtook here the steamboat, the Morivian, which

⁵ For traveler's views of Natchez about this time consult: Tyrone Power, Impressions of America (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1836), II, 108-119 [February, 1835]; Charles Augustus Murray, Travels in North America (2nd ed., 2 vols., London, 1841), II, 176-182 [December, 1835]; and T. M. Marshall (ed.) "Journal of Henry B. Miller," Missouri Historical Society Collections, VI (1931), 277-287 [31 October 1838-15 January 1839].

⁶ Jeanne Felicité Odille de Hault de Lassus, born France, 23 March 1773. She came with her parents to America and in 1793 at Pittsburgh was married to Pierre Auguste Charles Bourisgay d'Herbigny (commonly known in Louisiana as Pierre Derbigny), born at Laon near Lille in France, the eldest son of Auguste d'Herbigny. For a time Pierre Derbigny served as captain of militia and English interpreter at New Madrid. In 1800 he moved to Louisiana, where presently he represented Orleans Territory at Washington, D. C., became a judge of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, and was elected the fifth governor of that state. He was killed by an accident in 1829. The Derbigny children were: Charles Zenon who married Eulalie, daughter of Barthélemi Francois Le Breton and Jeanne Eulalie Robin de Logny; limée who married Henry Denis; a daughter who married George Legendre; and two daughters who married Noël Barthélemi Le Breton (brother of Eulalie). Charles Derbigny had three laughters and died in 1875. (Houck, History of Missouri, II, 140-141, III, 59, n. 18; Stanley C. Arthur and G. C. Huchet de Kernion, Old Families of Louisiana [New Orleans, 1931], 342-346.) 342-346.)

⁷ Auguste Pierre Charles de Hault de Lassus, only surviving son of Charles, was born 4 July 1813, at New Orleans and died 15 January 1908 at his farm in St. Francois County, Missouri. He married Marie Jeanne Blanque, daughter of Jean Blanque, New Orleans banker, and Marie Delphine Macarty, 6 January 1833. To what persons the diarist referred is not certain, since Madame Auguste's father was dead and her mother was living in France.

⁸ Rodney, Mississippi. This was the Moravian, Captain Srodes, described in the St. Louis Missouri Republican of 26 May 1836 as "the new s b Moravian."

had left on the twenty-eighth at 1:00 o'clock in the afternoon, in spite of its seven hours' head start on us. Got under way again at 10:15. Fifteen miles from Natchez.

At noon we passed ahead of the said Morivian; we are going fast. At 9:00 at night stopped to take on wood. We have sailed very fast from Roldney to eighty miles from Natchez. At 4:20 opposite Wauresburg [Warrensburg], ten miles from Roldney. Got under way again at 4:30, after having unloaded some goods and after having assembled many men and women passengers. We are almost full in the two staterooms-nearly sixty persons with the children.

[Saturday] July 2

Four o'clock in the morning. We continued without incident all last night. This morning the weather was beautiful. We did not pass any interesting place. Towards noon we entered the boundaries of the state of Arkansas, after the one of the Natchez. In the afternoon a storm—rain and hail. The rain continues. I found, although no longer seeing any cities, that the country is all virgin woods next to many rather large plantations on the two banks. According to the words of the passengers, we are near White River and near a place named Villemont, which is, without doubt, where the Lieutenant Colonel of this name—retired from the service of Spain—died afterwards in an armchair drinking grog, already of a very advanced age; and it is probably his successors who founded this settlement on a very large concession from the Spanish government.10 I do not know how many miles we are from Wuaresbourg [Warrensburg].

Although we are still making good progress, it seems to me that the course is becoming slower, being obliged to go around the battures by the lowering of the waters. 9:00 o'clock at night, we have just stopped at a plantation—isolated corner in order to unload a passenger with his baggage. Lost a half-hour here.

¹⁰ Charles de Villemont was born about 1763 according to Faye. During the last decade

¹⁰ Charles de Villemont was born about 1763 according to Faye. During the last decade of Spanish domination he was commandant at Arkansas Post. He married there about 1800 a daughter of Joseph Bogy (or Baugy) and he died there 9 August 1823. A contemporary newspaper paragraph reprinted in the Missouri Historical Society Collections [III (1908), 182] gave his age at death as 56. I find no confirmation that he died of drink.

On 10 May 1795 he petitioned Carondelet for a grant measuring two leagues by one league at Chicot Island, twenty-five leagues below the mouth of the Arkansas River. The town of Villemont at Point Chicot on the Mississippi River was laid out on Villemont's grant and in 1823 became the first county seat of Chicot County, Arkansas. Consult J. H. Shinn, Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas (Little Rock, 1908), 79; Fay Hempstead, Pictorial History of Arkansas (St. Louis, 1890), 913-914; Stanley Faye. "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVII (1944), 713; 24th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 59. pp. 579-582.

11 Charles Delassus' handwriting was frequently very difficult to decipher. The ms. here

¹st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 59. pp. 579-582. 11 Charles Delassus' handwriting was frequently very difficult to decipher. The ms. here apparently read coin isolé.

At 6:00 o'clock we passed in front of a pretty little new town named Columbia¹² that one says is a distance of 80 or 90 miles from New Madrid. We have not yet passed Villemontville.

Sunday, July 3 at 9:00 o'clock

Fine progress all night. At 7:00 o'clock this morning we were a few miles higher than half-way from New Orleans to St. Louis in the words of the account clerk. I do not know whether we passed Villemont during the night.

All is well on board—no sickness, no big gambling games, and the passengers have a great reserve among themselves. Cleanliness is rather well maintained, and especially the privies—a thing quite rare aboard these steamboats. I fear that our trip will go to more than ten days, the water falling considerably, which obliges going around the battures.

At 8:00 o'clock in the morning we stop to take on wood.

At 4:00 o'clock to take on wood. The waters are still falling. A part of the battures exposed obliges us to cast anchor. Mr. John Oliver (as he says, a green lawyer), who got on board at Natchez, a young man, courteous and educated—the only one since New Orleans who speaks French (Canadian), has just told me that I was recognized on board for having commanded all this country here under the Spanish domination and as Governor at St. Louis. No one on board can say where we are.

[Monday] July 4

At 9:30 we stopped to take on wood and to clean the boilers, which stopped us for nearly six hours. We got under way again at 3:30, and during this interval the steamboat, the *Morivian*, that we had passed first at Roldney, overtook us, and by dint of increasing its steam it passed us, which was a great joy to those on its deck. Next, it took a short cut where our boat could not pass. It is some distance in front of us. There was a little gaiety on board today, Independence Day, but without the

¹² From 1840 to 1855 Columbia was the county seat of Chicot County, Arkansas; it was later washed away by the Mississippi. Fay Hempstead, Pictorial History of Arkansas, 914; Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Southern Arkansas [Chicago, 1890], 1061).

slightest disorder or abuse. Now at 9:30 everyone is going to bed. I do not know where we are. It is said that we shall not pass Memphis until towards 11:00 o'clock.

[Tuesday] July 5

We stopped at Memphis last night between 10:00 and 11:00 o'clock, where we remained more than two hours in order to unload some freight and passengers, to take on others. During the night stopped again for quite a long time in order to take on wood. Today at 9:30 in the morning stopped to take on wood. We have just seen the Majestic¹³ pass going from St. Louis to New Orleans. Since this morning we find the waters much higher; the battures are almost covered, which, I believe, will be favorable to us.

I do not know whether the Morivian is behind or in front of us, perhaps having profited from the time that we spent also at Memphis taking on provisions and ice. I have lost the distance. No one on board either can, or knows it, or wishes to tell it to me for want of understanding one another. At 11:30 we pass in front of a settlement that is named Randolphe. It is on a yellow cliff on the left bank, which I believe used to be the Ecors à Margot and Chickasaw Bluff, called Memphis, that we passed also on the same bank.14 It was there where an interpreter of the Indian tribe for the Spanish government resided. He was Dutch; was named Benjamin Foye. 15 He was living with an Indian squaw, Madame Dufours and children. We have just met the steamboat [blank in ms.] coming from Louisville to New Orleans.

Towards 4:00 o'clock met the Velospèdes [Velocipede] coming from St. Louis and going to New Orleans. 16 or

¹³ The Majestic, Sparhawk master, had been advertised to leave St. Louis on 2 July (St. Louis Missouri Republican, 2 July 1836). It had been built at Pittsburgh in 1834, according to James Hall, Statistics of the West (Cincinnati, 1837), 258.

¹⁴ That is, they passed Memphis first, for that city had been founded in 1819 on Chickasaw Bluff No. 4 (the southernmost) whereas Randolph grew up at the second bluff. The latest history of Memphis is by Gerald M. Capers, Jr., The Biography of a River Town (Chapel Hill, 1939). In colonial times this region was known as Ecor à Prudhomme, Ecors à Margot, Les Barrancas de Margot, and San Fernando.

¹⁸ Benjamin Fooy apparently was at this place early in the 1790's. About 1804 he crossed the river and settled at what became known as Foy's Point. As early as 23 August 1808, Fooy was a justice of the court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions and in 1810 he was appointed to take the census at Hopefield and the settlements near the mouth of the St. Francis River (T. M. Marshall, ed., The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates [St. Louis, 1926], II, 30, 142-143, 148-149). Consult also James D. Davis, The History of the City of Memphis (Memphis, 1873), 162-176; Davis declares that Volney wrote his Ruins while visiting Fooy in 1805, but this is slightly apocryphal since the Ruins was published in 1791.

16 This was probably the Velocipide built at Cincinnati in 1832 (James Hall, Statistics of the West, 262).

In the afternoon there was a dispute between the doctor and another passenger. Just as it was at the point of becoming a duel because of a joke badly understood or pushed too far, it is this young Canadian gentleman who was the mediator. The two enemies were reconciled by shaking hands, and they finished by the same thing by which I believe it had begun—by taking a drink together in the tap-room with the witnesses who have become the mediators. At 8:30 we stop to take on wood—we use up a considerable amount of it, which makes us lose much time. At noon the second in command told me that we were still sixty miles from New Madrid. The *Morivian* is still ahead of us; it is taking advantage of the short-cuts, but it is not very far from us.

[Wednesday] July 6 at 9:00 o'clock in the morning

We have been stopped here—where?—since 5:00 o'clock to clean the boilers, according to what Augustin, my negro tells me. Although having traveled all night, we have not advanced much; the night being dark, we ran aground once and scraped the battures continually, and the boilers were so filled with mud that at this moment they are not yet finished being cleaned. The fire is out. It is said that we are still twenty-five miles from New Madrid. Got under way again at 11:00 o'clock. At 1:30 we pass in front of New Madrid, my first and former command, entrusted to me by the Baron de Carondelet in 1796.¹⁷ I was the civil, military, and political commandant for relations with the frontier authorities of the United States; besides, assistant delegate for the general administration of finances, as well as for the granting of lands. Etc.

[Thursday] July 7

Stopped at 5:00 o'clock for wood; another time at 9:00 to fix something wrong with the machinery. We traveled quite well all night. Passed Ohio River¹⁸ during the night. We should be near Cape Girardeau. Met four steamboats, some coming from the Ohio and going to St. Louis; others proceeding from this place for

¹⁷ Charles Delassus was commandant at New Madrid from May 1796 to July 1799, when he was promoted to the command at St. Louis.

18 La belle riviere in the ms.

New Orleans. The deck passengers have decreased a little in number. From the stateroom some go ashore, and others come in. Still almost the same number. It seems that we shall hardly be in St. Louis tomorrow night.

At 2:30 we passed Tewapiti where there is a little settlement on a rather pretty knoll.¹⁹ We have been running between the states of Illinois and Missoury from New Madrid on.

At 3:00 o'clock we passed in front of Cape Girardeau.²⁰ There are many houses and inns. Landed two stateroom passengers. It seems that the crowd is diminishing and the provisions also, although we are still well fed; but since this morning there has been no more bread. The weather is foggy and from time to time a little rain. We are traveling well and fast. Now 4:00 o'clock. Forty leagues or 120 miles from St. Louis.

[Friday] July 8

Progressed all night, but slowly because of the obscurity. Passed before Ste. Genevieve at 9:00 in the morning without stopping.²¹ Sixty miles from St. Louis. The plantations have increased greatly in eleven or twelve years on the two banks, especially on the side of the state of Missoury. Above the Marameck [Meramec] there is a large military establishment;²² a little higher, I believe, a large powder-magazine;²³ a little above Caron-

¹⁹ Also written Tyawapatia, Tywapitty, Tiwappaty, etc. Houck (*History of Missouri*, II, 162-166) says that a village called Ze-wa-pe-ta was formed in 1788 about thirty miles above the mouth of the Ohio near the present town of Commerce, Missouri; it was settled by Americans at the invitation of Spanish officials. Edmund Flagg in the summer of 1836 mentioned the place in *The Far West* (reprinted in R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* [32 vols., Cleveland, 1906], XXVI, 88).

²⁰ In March, 1837, this place had about five hundred inhabitants, ten or twelve stores, two taverns, a pottery, a newspaper office, and two mills, according to W. G. Lyford, *The Western Address Directory*...for the year 1837... (Baltimore, 1837), 445. A contemporary glimpse can be found in Flagg's Far West (Thwaites, Early Western Travels, XXVI, 87-88).

²¹ For Ste. Genevieve about this time consult G. W. Featherstonhaugh, A Canoe Voyage Up the Minnay Sotor (2 vols., London, 1847), II, 137-139, 157-163 [June-July 1835]; and Edmund Flagg, The Far West (Thwaites, Early Western Travels, XXVI, 95-98).

³² Jefferson Barracks was founded in 1826 and was declared surplus 4 July 1946. Edmund Flagg in the summer of 1836 saw the post from the river: "The site of the quadrangle of the barracks enclosing the parade is the broad summit of a noble bluff, swelling up from the water, while the outbuildings are scattered picturesquely along the interval beneath; the view from the steamer cannot but strike the traveller as one of much scenic beauty." (The Far West, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, XXVI, 106), This first impression Flagg elaborated on some time later when he paid a visit to the Barracks (Ibid., 175-176).

^{23 &}quot;About ½ mile below [the Arsenal] is the Magazine; it is a beautiful and romantic country surrounded by trees of a sand growth. It is surrounded by a stone wall about 20 feet high, about 150 feet by 350 feet, with one gate way. The building is covered with slate and is altogether fire proof outside." So Henry B. Miller described this place in his "Journal" in May, 1838 (Missouri Historical Society Collections, VI, 230).

delet,24 a kind of arsenal.25 The approaches to St. Louis are imposing. Having been obliged to anchor on the other shore, we enjoyed a magnificent and imposing view in looking at this city built on the hill and which has grown considerably upon all the branches of the Mississippi²⁶ in buildings, residences, stores, etc.

We arrived in port at 7:00 at night, but we were obliged to go the whole length of the city in order to find a place because of the great quantity of steamboats from all the ports of the West and South and from the different navigable rivers of this state.²⁷ At 7:30 we moored; immediately the steamboat was filled with people coming to look for letters, and hardly had they entered when a downpour began to fall, and is still falling now that it is 9:00 o'clock, which causes me not to wish to inconvenience any of my friends and not send them word until tomerrow morning.

Here we are then at St. Louis in ten days and one night. Agreeable trip all the way, which could have been shorter if the captain, extremely cautious, had not had the boilers cleaned often. We did not have any sickness on board, except several indispositions, no disturbances, no quarrels, nor heavy gambling. St. Louis this July 8, 1836, aboard the Gre Collet [George Collier] at 10:00 o'clock at night.

²⁴ Flagg wrote at this time: "The village lies in a sleepy-looking hollow, scooped out between the bluffs and the water; and from the summit of the hill the eye glances beyond it over the lengthened vista of the river-reach, at this place miles in extent. Along the shore a deeply-laden steamer was toiling against the current on her passage to the city. . . Every object, the very soil even, seemed moss grown and hoary with time departed. More than seventy years have passed away since its settlement commenced. . . The rude, crumbling tenements of stone or timber, of peculiar structure, with their whitewashed walls stained by age; the stoccade enclosures of the gardens; the venerable aspect of the ancient fruit-trees, mossed with years, and the unique and singular garb, manner, and appearance of the swarthy villagers, all betoken an earlier era and a peculiar people. The little dark-eyed, dark-haired boys were busy with their games in the streets; and, as we paced leisurely along, we could perceive in the little cabarets the older portion of the habitants, cosily congregated around the table near the open door or upon the balcony, apparently discussing the gossip of the day and the qualities of the sundry potations before them" (The Far West, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, XXVI, 174). Carondelet was merged with St. Louis in 1870.

Travels, XXVI, 174). Carondelet was merged with St. Louis in 1870.

25 The commissioners appointed to select a site for the United States Arsenal announced on 2 August 1827 that they had purchased "the beautiful place of Mr. A. Rutgers, situated on the river-bank, about three miles below the city" (J. T. Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, I, 535). The first buildings were erected in 1827; the last in 1840. Flagg described it: "The situation of the Arsenal, upon a swelling bank of the river, is delightful. It is surrounded by a strong wall of stone, embracing extensive grounds, through which a green, shady avenue leads from the highway [then Carondelet Road, now Broadway]. The structures are composed chiefly of unhawn limestone, enclosing a rectangular area, and comprise about a dozen large buildings, while a number of lesser ones are perceived here and there among the groves. The principal structure is one of four stories, looking down upon the Mississippi, with a beautiful esplanade, forming a kind of natural glacis to the whole armory, sweeping away to the water. Upon the right and left, in the same line with the rectangle, are situated the dwellings of the officers; noble edifices of hewn stone, with cultivated garden-plats and fruit-trees. The view of the stream is here delightful, and the breeze came up from its surface fresh and free. A pair of pet deer were frolicking along the shore" (The Far West, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, XXVI, 173).

35 The word in the ms. seems to be ruisseux. It is possible that the diarist was thinking

³⁶ The word in the ms. seems to be ruisseux. It is possible that the diarist was thinking of the River Des Peres, Mill Creek, Rocky Branch, and so forth.

³⁷ Catherine Stewart, who visited St. Louis at this time, noted that there were frequently as many as forty steamers tied up on the levee. (New Homes in the West [Nashville, 1843], 85).

Saturday July 9

From the S[ou]l[ar]d home.28

Wrote to my sister of our arrival yesterday according to the newspaper; and dated today, continued the same letter in informing her of the manner in which I was received here, etc.

Let T. Montreuil²⁹ know of my arrival. Will begin to occupy myself day after tomorrow with business, including his. If he has a ready occasion, I asked that he inform my son of my arrival here and tell him that I shall write to him next week by way of New York. My remembrances, and remember me to my son's family and our friends, etc.

[Sunday] July 10

Received several visits. Judge E. L. Lawles[s],30 my old friend and my lawyer as much for my lands as my other claims in congress. He anticipated me by coming to see me last night.

Today, Messrs. Cadet Chouteau père, 31 Cerré Chouteau, 32 my nephew Marcelin St. Vrain D[e]l[assu]s,33 and others paid me a

nepnew Marcelin St. Vrain D[e]I[assu]s, and others paid me a appointed surveyor for Upper Louisiana and held that office until 1804. He served also as captain of militia and adjutant. He died there 10 March 1825. His wife, Marie Julie Cerré, youngest daughter of Gabriel Cerré, on the death of her mother in 1800, inherited the house and 76 arpents of land which Gabriel Cerré had held since 1780 south of St. Louis just below Mill Creek. The portion of this property lying between the Carondelet Road (Broadway) and the river on 18 May 1836 was laid out as Soulard's addition to the city of St. Louis; Madame Soulard retained her house and the block on which it stood (east side of Carondelet between Catherine—now Miller—and Barry Streets), Two years later the remainder of this property was also subdivided. Consult Houck, Spanish Regime in Missouri, II, 327-330; Billon, Annals of St. Louis . . . under French and Spanish Dominations, 403-404, 471-472; Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, I, 157.

30 Théodule Montreuil and Auguste Delassus were partners in a grocery and commission business in New Orleans. The collection of Delassus Papers now owned by Mrs. George E. Johnson of St. Louis, great-great-granddaughter of Charles Delassus, (hereafter referred to as the Johnson Collection) contains a letterbook of this firm from November 1834 to July 1837. Their place of business was at 44 Conti Street, according to Gibson's Guide and Directory of the State of Louisiana and the Cities of New Orleans and Lafayette (New Orleans, 1838).

30 At the time of this visit Luke E. Lawless was judge of the St. Louis Circuit Court and his residence was at 121 South 4th Street (Charles Keemle, St. Louis Directory for 1836-1837). According to Billon (Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days [St. Louis, 1888], 396-397) this was the brick house built in 1818 by Thomas F. Riddick, on the west side of 4th opposite Plum.

Plum.

There are conflicting stories of the early life of Lawless. He was born in Ireland in 1781,

There are conflicting stories of the early life of Lawless. He was born in Ireland in 1781, came to St. Louis in 1816-17, and died there in 1846. Consult Billon, op. cit., 162, 303-304; W.V.N. Bay, Bench and Bar of Missouri (St. Louis, 1878), 440-447.

31 Pierre Chouteau senior (1758-1849), the second son of Madame Chouteau, and the younger brother of Auguste Chouteau, therefore cadet. Confusion sometimes arises in local history because in the next generation of this family Pierre's second son (Pierre jr.) was called cadet in relation to his older brother Auguste Pierre. For a discussion of this see my article "Cadet Chouteau, an Identification," Missouri Historical Review, XXXI (April, 1937), 267-271. The present journal contributes further evidence of the use of this term, which is always applied to a younger brother, never to a son. See also the word cadet in my Glossary of Mississippi Valley French (Washington University Studies, St. Louis, 1941), 39.

32 The family name for Gabriel Silvestre Chouteau, second son of the first Auguste Chouteau and Marie Thérèse Cerré. He was born 31 December 1794 and died unmarried 18 June 1887. Because he managed the Chouteau Mill until 1853, when Chouteau Pond was drained, he was often called "the miller". Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 166-167.

Days, 166-167.

33 Youngest son of Jacques Ceran Marcelin de St. Vrain (see note 71) and Marie Felicité Dubreuil. He was born at Spanish Lake in St. Louis County, Missouri, 14 October 1815. While still a young man he went west and for a time commanded at Fort St. Vrain in Colorado (established by his elder brother Ceran St. Vrain noted in the Santa Fé trade). He returned to St. Louis in 1848 and a year later married Elizabeth Jane Murphy (Genealogical Notes, Delassus Papers, Missouri Historical Society).

visit. I made the acquaintance of the uncle of Madam Gustave,³⁴ Dr. Lane, and of his brother, J. Lane, who dined here. After dinner Mr. M. P. Le Duc,³⁵ my good old friend and my agent, etc., came to see me. It is he who came to look for me on board the morning of the ninth to take me in a carriage to the Soulard home. We put off until tomorrow seeing each other in town. This afternoon we had a visit from the Provencher ladies; that is to say, of two—one an unmarried woman, and the other married.³⁶

In seeing Mr. Le Duc home I met almost all the Papin brothers and brothers-in-law, etc. who were riding horseback.³⁷ They stopped to shake hands with me, and Mr. Hipolite urged me to go see them (this is very fortunate). I saw again with pleasure Mr. Louis Cerré,³⁸ a young man whom I have always loved very much.

⁵⁴ Madame Henri Gustave Soulard. Gustave Soulard, second son of Antoine Pierre Soulard (see note 28) and Marie Julie Cerré, was born in St. Louis 14 May 1801 and died there in 1891. On 9 May 1833 he married Harriet, daughter of Dr. Harvey Lane of Ste. Genevieve, Missouri. Dr. Lane had died in 1825. The uncle referred to here was Dr. Hardage Lane, who died in 1849. Madame Gustave's mother was born Juliana Hamtramck, daughter of Col. John F. Hamtramck, U.S.A. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 186, 373; Genealogical Collection (Mss.), Missouri Historical Society.

³⁵ Marie Philippe Leduc, son of Joseph G. Leduc and Marie Hélène Hamelin, was born in the parish of St. Denis, Paris, in 1772. He arrived at New Madrid in 1792 and from 1796 to 1799 served there as secretary to Charles Delassus. He removed with that officer to St. Louis and married there on 30 August 1802 Marguerite, eldest daughter of Joseph Marie Papin and Marie Louise Chouteau. He died at the house of Hypolite Papin at Côte Brillante on 15 August 1842. At the time of this visit he had both an office and a dwelling at 38 North First Street and was presiding judge of the St. Louis County Court. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under French and Spanish Dominations, 475; Keemle, St. Louis Directory, 1836-7.

se In addition to the widowed Madame Provenchere (see note 70) there were three Provenchere ladies her daughters: (1) Emelie Marie who married George Maguire 26 November 1833, (2) Elise who married Frederick Saugrain 2 November 1835, and (3) Eulalie who sometime later than this visit married Saugrain Robinson. Eulalie was one of the callers, but which of her married sisters was with her I cannot determine.

The Papin family was a large one. Joseph Marie Papin (1741-1802) and Marie Louise Chouteau (1764-1817), who were married in St. Louis 9 January 1779, had seven sons: (1) Joseph, born 1780, married 15 February 1820 a Mrs. Bradshaw, and died in 1850; (2) Alexandre Laforce, born 1782, married Julie Brazeau 13 August 1814, and died in July, 1849; (3) Hypolite Leber, born 1787, married Josephine Loisel 14 July 1815, and died 20 December 1842; (4) Pierre Melicourt (or Millicour), born 1793, died unmarried July 1849; (5) Silvestre Vilray, born 1794, married Clementine Loisel 18 July 1817, and died 3 August 1828; (6) Pierre Didier, born 1798, married Catherine Louise Cerré 10 August 1826, and died in May 1853; (7) Theodore Dartigny, born 1799, married Marie Celeste Duchouquette 25 October 1820, and died in 1851. Since Silvestre Vilray was dead and Pierre Didier was at this time at Fort Pierre in the Sioux country and Pierre Melicourt most probably at his Osage trading post in Kansas, it is probable that the visitor met only Joseph, Alexandre, Hypolite, and Theodore Dartigny.

The brothers-in-law were: (1) Marie Philippe Leduc (see note 35) who had married Marguerite Papin, (born 1781, died 1808); (2) Antoine Chenier who married Marie Thérèse Papin (1784-1840) in 1806 and died in 1842; (3) H. Renard who in 1818 became the second husband of Marie Louise Papin (born 1785, and then the widow of Antoine Roy); (4) Francois Chauvin who in 1816 married Emilie Papin (1796-1849). Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 448-449; Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 183-185, 211-212.

³⁸ Although the ms. seems to read Louis Cerré I am unable to identify this man.

Monday [July] 11

This morning I find that it is too warm to go to town at present. I have just received the formal visit from Mr. J. Demun.³⁹

After dinner, not having gone out today, I received a visit from one of my grand nieces, daughter of Charles St. Vrain, who came to see me, with gestures of affection. She is married to the second son of Mr. René Paul, Edmond.40

Tuesday [July] 12

After dinner, I went to town to the home of Mr. Le Duc. I turned over to him the package and a letter with ten dollars, addressed to Miss Brigte⁴¹ by her father and noted on the package that I could leave it at Mr. Le Duc's. Likewise a letter from the same addressed to Mr. de Lisle, 42 etc. After having visited the Papin family (Mr. Hipolite Papin, together with his whole family, welcomed me in a very friendly manner), we talked a little about the lands. Le Duc has told me nothing yet about those confirmed. He complains, especially since he has had pleurodynia recently, that he can no longer travel, that he feels that he is old and weak. I foresee that I shall have trouble in being able to put my plans into execution. To conclude, moreover, it is necessary to wait for the end of this congress here. It seems that the enthusiasm for purchasing estates and ground-plots unfortunately is beginning to subside. I saw with pleasure at Le Duc's Mr. Abadie Pratte, 43

³⁹ Jules de Mun, son of Jacques de Mun and Marie Madeline Le Meilleur, was born at Port au Prince, island of Santo Domingo, 25 April 1782 and died at St. Louis 15 August 1843. He married Isabelle, daughter of Charles Gratiot and Marie Victoire Chouteau, on 31 March 1812 (she was born 15 October 1796 and died 13 July 1878). In the 1830's Jules de Mun was secretary and translator of the United States Board of Commissioners for adjusting titles to French and Spanish land grants in Missouri and was Register of the United States Land Office in St. Louis. Consult Nettie H. Beauregard, "De Mun Family in America," Missouri Historical Society Collections, V (1928), 327-331.

40 Charles Emmanuel St. Vrain, born 1797, was a son of Jacques Marcelin Ceran St. Vrain (see note 71); he married Eulalie, daughter of Antoine Vincent Bouis (c. 1752-1812) and Marie Madelaine Robert (1768-1834). Their daughter Marie Emilie was born 22 February 1816 and in 1836 married Edmond Washington Paul, the second son of René Paul and Marie Thérèse Eulalie Chouteau. Edmond Paul was born in St. Louis in 1816 and died there in 1880. Consult Genealogical Notes, Delassus Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

41 Original orhtography difficult. This was probably a daughter of George Y. Bright and Susan Fremon de Lauriere who were married 10 December 1818. The girl was therefore a connection of Charles Delassus, since the latter's sister-in-law St. Vrain would be greataunt to this girl. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 471.

aunt to this girl. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 471.

43 Was this possibly the Mr. J. DeLisle who advertised in the Missouri Republican for 21 July 1836 that he would "devote all his time to the teaching of the French and Spanish languages" every evening, Sundays excepted, at his dwelling house and every day at private or boarding houses—private lessons \$18 per quarter, evening school \$10.50?

43 Bernard Pratte, jr., younger son of Bernard Pratte and Emilie Sauveur Labadie. It was a common practice for a younger son to be called after his mother's family name, even though it was no part of his christened name. Cf. Cerré Chouteau, note 32 above. Abadie is merely a variant of Labadie. Bernard Pratte, jr., was born in St. Louis 17 December 1803, married there Louise, eldest daughter of Antoine Chenier and Marie Thérèse Papin, 20 July 1824, and died in Montgomery County, Missouri, in 1887. At this time he was an important figure in the Missouri River fur trade. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days; 181-182. Days; 181-182.

who arrived from Upper Missoury. He lost his father about four months ago. He⁴⁴ was a good old friend of the family. His widow is here and expects to leave soon for the East for [blank in ms.] I returned here acompanied by Le Duc as far as the bridge.⁴⁵ We passed in front of the new church. Its outside appeared very beautiful to me.⁴⁶ There is, moreover, an orphan's asylum on the same site, which is soon to be finished.

I turned over to Mr. Le Duc the papers concerning the affair of Charles for his father's land.⁴⁷ He told me that he would write tomorrow on this subject to Mr. [blank in ms.]⁴⁸

Wednesday [July] 13

This morning at 9:00 o'clock I had the honor of a visit from Messrs. Cabanet [Cabanné] père⁴⁹ and Cadet Chouteau jeune.⁵⁰

Having been empowered to collect a bill payable to order from Mr. Gibson in favor of A. D[e]l[assu]s and Montreuil, and Gibson not having his residence here, Mr. Le Duc placed a note at the bottom of the letter that Montreuil had addressed here to him through me. Since I do not write English, he sent it to Gibson in Ste. Genevieve for me, in order that he may answer at once if he is disposed to honor his signature that I have against him, etc. under date of yesterday in the mail. I did not go out from here yesterday, having spent the day pleasantly with a Madam Bonne-ville,⁵¹ an elderly French widow, but pleasant company, friend of the Soulard family. Gustave Soulard has just received two

⁴⁴ That is, Bernard Pratte, sr., son of Jean B. Pratte and Marie Anne Lalumandiere, born at Ste. Genevieve in 1772, settled in St. Louis about 1793, married there Emilie Sauveur, daughter of Silvestre Labbadie and Pelagie Chouteau. He died in St. Louis 1 April 1836; she died 23 November 1844. At this time she had two married daughters living in New York and one in Philadelphia. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 466.

⁴⁵ That is, the bridge over La Petite Rivière (Mill Creek).

⁴⁶ For descriptions of the new St. Louis Cathedral, consecrated in 1834, consult Edmund Flagg, The Far West, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, XXVI, 165-169; Alphonso Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri (St. Louis, 1837), 181-185.

⁴⁷ Possibly this refers to a claim for 6,000 arpents in the District of St. Charles, a concession from Charles de Lassus, dated 20 September 1799, located ninety miles above St. Louis (American State Papers, Public Lands, II, 535).

⁴⁸ Gibson had been written in this blank in the diary and then struck out; that it should be William Gibson is abundantly clear in later entries. According to Houck (History of Missouri, II, 162, n. 85), a William Gibson in 1801 was living at Tywapitty Bottom.

⁴⁹ Jean Pierre Cabanné, son of Jean Cabanné and Jeanne Dutilh, born in Pau, France, 18 October 1773, settled in St. Louis in 1798, and married there, Julie, eldest daughter of Charles Gratiot and Victoire Chouteau. He died 27 June 1841:

⁵⁰ Pierre Chouteau, junior, born 19 January 1789 at St. Louis, married Emilie, daughter of Charles Gratiot and Victoire Chouteau, on 15 June 1813, and died 6 October 1865. See also note 31.

⁵¹ Marguerite, widow of Nicolas de Bonneville (Tom Paine's friend) and mother of General B. L. E. Bonneville (at this time Captain). She settled in St. Louis about 1831 and died there in 1847.

letters from his brother Gaston,⁵² who informs him from Galena that their mother, his wife, and children are all well. He is obliged by business to postpone his return here for a few days. Gaston tells him, in case I have arrived, to give me the greetings of the whole family, etc. After dinner I went around my old farm,⁵³ a mile lower down, which was sold for debt while I was in New Orleans. I had lived in it ten years. Having built it, I cannot express the feelings I experienced in taking this solitary walk, recalling how happy I was on this slope—twenty arpents in area—with my only son, whom I reared, where I planned to finish out my days. Man proposes, and God disposes!

Thursday [July] 14 Friday [July] 15

I went to town after dinner, and on the fourteenth went only to the home of Judge Lawles[s], who was not at home. I was received by Madam Lawles[s]⁵⁴ with all the graciousness and ease of a lady of the best education and of the greatest integrity. For a first visit I remained with her nearly an hour, the conversation extending to different subjects and unfortunately a little sad—on the occurrences she had met with in her family and I in mine. In spite of the fact that I tried to change the subject, we always returned to it. Sensitive hearts understand one another too well to remove themselves from their attachments in talking to one another. Afterwards, at Mr. Le Duc's I met again her husband, who expressed to me his regret at not having been found at home, but after the welcome of his kind wife and of him, I shall have the pleasure of seeing them again often, if there is a possibility.

⁶³ James Gaston Soulard, eldest son of Antoine Pierre Soulard and Marie Julie Cerré (see note 28), was born in St. Louis in 1797, married 20 March 1820 Eliza Mitchell, daughter of Colonel Thomas Hunt, U.S.A. He settled in Galena, Wisconsin, in 1827 and died there 17 September 1878. Augustus L. Chetlain in his Recollections of Seventy Years (Galena, 1899) has some interesting remarks about Gaston as a horticulturist (pp. 24-25). Beatrice Clark Turner (The Chouteau Family [St. Louis, 1934], 107) lists the following children: Julie Antoinette, Adele, Henry, Marie Thérèse, Julia, Isabell, Harriet, Octavia, Emma, and Eliza (the last two dying in infancy). Consult also Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 472; John F. Darby, Personal Recollections, 412-415.

⁵³ The old farm was on the road south to Carondelet (now Broadway). The first place across the Mill Creek below St. Louis was the Soulard and the second the Duchouquette or Brazeau. Charles De Lassus had the next. These twenty arpents had been originally a grant to Benito Vasquez in 1786. In 1811 Joseph Brazeau the younger became the owner; he sold the place to Theodore Hunt in 1815, and a year later the former lieutenant-governor bought it on his return to St. Louis. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 405-406.

⁵⁴ At the time of her marriage to Lawless (see note 30) in 1825, she was the widow of the Baron de Greuhm, who had been the Prussian Minister at Washington. D. C. (Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 304).

Today, I went only to Mr. Le Duc's house where I learned that our lands had passed to the house of representatives and were going to be confirmed.55 If that is true, we shall know it tomorrow. I went to the firm of Messrs. Jules Vairin and Reilly⁵⁶ to receive a draft for \$200 in a check on the branch of the Cincinati Commercial Bank at St. Louis. Dr Lane came to find me at Le Duc's house to ask me if I wished to sell some lands, which were not confirmed. We replied that we had just received the news that they were confirmed. Having waited until this moment, it will be on another footing that we transact business.

Saturday [July] 16

General Acheley [Ashley],57 arrived last night from Waugenthon [Washington], corroborates the news of the confirmation of lands, but they say it was returned from the House of Representatives to the Senate, adopted, but with amendments. The Senate received it and passed the law of confirmation during the night of the second or third of the present July, before closing the meeting which ended this session. Adjourned the fourth.

I went to see my worthy old friend, the widow, Madam Pratte, who expects to leave next week to rejoin her children established in New York and Philadelphia.58

I went to see the church or cathedral, which was constructed, embellished, and decorated by Bishop Rosaty [Rosati].59 It is a very beautiful church in a modern, elegant taste, which at the same time inspires the respect owed to the Divinity.

55 This information was probably that contained in a letter from Ashley dated "Half past 3 o'clock in the morning", 3 July 1836, House of Representatives, announcing passage by the House of an act confirming private land claims. It was published in the Missouri Republican, 16 July 1836.

56 The firm of Vairin and Reel, according to John Darby, was dissolved 31 December 1836 (Personal Recollections, 417). Although the name in the ms. seems to be Reilly, it probably should read Reel. John W. Reel married Eugente, daughter of Dr. Antoine Saugrain and Genevieve Rosalie Michau, and died 6 January 1838 (Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Saugrain Dominations 478). the French and Spanish Dominations, 478).

57 William Henry Ashley (1778-1838), fur trader and Congressman. He died at Lamine near Boonville, Missouri; a long and interesting obituary was published in the Missouri Saturday News for 14 April 1838. Consult Harrison Clifford Dale, The Ashley-Smith Explorations . . . (revised ed., Glendale, 1941), 57-173; Donald McKay Frost, "Notes on General Ashley, the Overland Trail, and South Pass," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October, 1944.

58 Emilie Sauveur Labadie Pratte, see note 44. Her daughters: Emilie was married to Ramsay Crooks, then of New York; Thérèse was married (secondly) to L. D. Peugnet, also of New York; and Celeste was married to Stephen F. Nidelet of Philadelphia (Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 466).

59 Joseph Rosati was Bishop of the St. Louis Diocese from 1833 to 1840; but for ten years previous to his elevation he had been coadjutor. For his life consult the Rev. John Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis (2 vols., St. Louis, 1928), I, 399-784. For the cathedral see note 46 and consult also the Rev. Paul C. Schulte, The Catholic Heritage of Saint Louis: A History of the Old Cathedral Parish. . (St. Louis, 1934), 174-180. The decorations were by Leon Pomarede, a young French artist; the most detailed account of him will be found in my forthcoming volume Portrait of the Mississippi.

Sunday [July] 17

I am not going out this morning. We expect to dinner Messrs. Le Duc, Lawles[s], and others, whom Gustave Soulard has invited to be with me, an attention which I could well do without for the trouble which that gives to Madam Gustave. The dinner was pleasant, the honors being done with courtesy and ease. Afterwards I went walking with Mr. Le Duc, speaking of different things and very little of our affairs. I do not yet judge it proper to explain to him my undefined intentions.

Monday [July] 18

I went to town with Madam Gustave by carriage, and I left here to her visits. I went to get Le Duc to go visit Monseigneur the Bishop, whom we did not find. From there we went to Mr. Condé Benoit's 60 who has a firm of discounting and exchange. He received me with demonstrations of respect and friendship. He cashed for me a \$200 check from Mr. Jules Vairin and company, that they had given me on the branch bank of Sinsinati [Cincinnati] established here—a payment of a draft from the said firm of Vairin in New Orleans, which spared me from going to this bank because of the heat which was very great. From there we returned to Le Duc's house, where I remained chatting until after noon, when I went to the house of the widow, Madam Auguste Chouteau;61 who was moved to tears in embracing me, recalling her misfortunes. But although broken (she must be more than sixty), I found her well. She is at this moment in sorrow, having learned of the death of her eldest son-a sorry person, who had abandoned wife and children here to live with the Osage Indians in the greatest disorder, but he was her son!62 She is mother and grandmother of a large family, which consoles her on the one hand and worries her on the other, being on bad terms

⁶⁰ Louis Antoine Benoit, son of François M. Benoit and Marie Catherine Sanguinet, born St. Louis 13 August 1803 and died 17 January 1867. He was known as Condé Benoit, after his grandfather, Dr. Auguste Condé. The banking firm to which Charles de Lassus alludes was then at no. 81 North First Street (Keemle, St. Louis Directory for 1836-7).

⁶¹ Madame Auguste Chouteau was still living in the Chouteau house on First Street. She was born Marie Thérèse Cerré (daughter of Gabriel Cerré), married Auguste Chouteau (1749-1829) 21 September 1786, and died 14 August 1842.

⁶² Auguste Aristide Chouteau was born in St. Louis 21 October 1792 and died some time later than 24 August 1835 (at the trading post of his cousin Auguste Pierre Chouteau on the Verdigris River near Fort Gibson), for on that date he was a witness to the treaty made with the Comanche at Camp Holmes, near the center of present day Oklahoma. On 10 June 1810 he married Constance, daughter of Charles Sanguinet. Their children were Auguste René (1811-1847), Edward A. (1814-1864), and Virginia C. (1816-1836). They were divorced in 1830. She died in September 1833.

with her sons-in-law, the Messrs. Paul,63 but from the point of view of wealth, she is a very rich widow, and she has remained in possession of her house, 64 completely furnished, with silver, linens, etc., where she lives with Henry, one of her sons, who is married to a Miss Coursaut, sister of the Messrs. Paul.65 He is clerk of court, and it is he who handles his mother's affairs, and it seems that they are in good hands. From there I went back in the carriage with Madam Gustave, and we returned to dine. In the afternoon I returned to town on foot. I went to visit Mesdames Saugrain⁶⁶ and Robertson [Robinson],⁶⁷ old friends, and of the greatest affability. I spent a part of the afternoon in their charming company. They urged me very much to go see them often to eat soup with them without ceremony. Afterwards, I went to the home of Mr. Rutgers, 68 who was my neighbor when I lived in my little home twelve years ago. We were very close; since then we have been in trouble over money-matters. I have always been convinced that I was cheated, but having submitted the matter at the time to the arbitration of our mutual friends and having agreed to conform to their decision without recall, I be-

by him; it was torn down after Madame Chouteau's death in 1842.

65 Henry Chouteau was married not to a sister but to a niece of Gabriel and René Paul. He was born 11 February 1805 and died in the Gasconade Bridge disaster in November 1855. On 10 July 1827 he married Clemence Coursault (1810-1859) of Baltimore, the daughter of Edward Coursault and Aglaé Paul. At this time he was Clerk of the County Court and Recorder of Deeds and was living with his mother in the old Chouteau mansion. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 167-168.

Madame Chouteau had one other son: Edward René, born 30 March 1807 and died unmarried 15 May 1846 (Billon, op. cit., 310). She had one other married daughter (Mrs. Thomas Smith) and at least twenty-seven grandchildren.

Thomas Smith) and at least twenty-seven grandchildren.

66 Genevieve Rosalie (born Paris, 1776; died St. Louis 1860), daughter of Jean Michausand Jeanne Genevieve Rosalie Chevalier, married Dr. Antoine Saugrain 20 March 1793 near Gallipolis, Ohio. They moved to St. Louis about 1800. He was born in Paris in 1763 and died in St. Louis in 1820. His library was one of the most interesting in early St. Louis (McDermott, Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis, 90-107). For the Saugrains consult McDermott, "Guillotin Thinks of America." Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XLVII (1938), 129-158; H. Fouré-Selter, L'Odyssée Américaine d'une Famille Française: Le Docteur Antoine Saugrain (Baltimore, 1936).

67 It is Robertson in the diary but should certainly be Robinson. Sophie Michau, sister of Madame Saugrain, was born in Paris in 1786; on 24 March 1805 at St. Louis she married Dr. John Hamilton Robinson who accompanied Pike on his southwestern expedition. He died at Natchez 19 Spetember 1819. For Madame Robinson consult H. Fouré-Selter, L'Odyssée Américaine d'une Famille Française, 71-120. For her husband consult Harold A. Bierck, Jr., "Dr. John Hamilton Robinson," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXV (1942), 644-669.

68 Arend Rutgers, born in Dortrecht, Holland, came to St. Louis in 1801. Sally Rutgers was never married. The other daughter, Madame Provenchere, will be presented in note 70. The Rutgers house was diagonally opposite the Soulard home.

⁶³ Gabriel and René Paul were the sons of Eustace Paul and Marie Scholastique Macé. They were born at Cap François, Santo Domingo, and came to St. Louis about 1809. René, born 1783, married 9 April 1812 Marie Thérèse Eulalie, the eldest daughter, and died 5 May 1851; at this time he was City Surveyor. Gabriel, born 1777, married Louise (1799-1832) on 30 March 1817; he died in 1846. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 235-237; Turner, The Chouteau Family, 21-22. Both Mesdames Paul were dead at this time.

time.

64 About this time Alphonso Wetmore wrote: "The antiquities of St. Louis, on which the past and present generations have looked with interest, are the two mansions of the elder Chouteaus. These extensive chateaux were erected at an early period, by Auguste and Pierre Chouteau. The edifices stand in the west side of First-street, and are surrounded by ample porticoses, that shelter the apartments from the rays of the sun, and afford genial promenades in rainy or sultry weather. These houses were originally enclosed with high walls of masonwork, perforated with loopholes for defense against red men. . ." (Gazetteer of Missouri, 186-187). Originally built by Pierre LaClède as headquarters for Maxent, LaClède and Company, this house was acquired by Auguste Chouteau about 1788 and enlarged and improved by him; it was torn down after Madame Chouteau's death in 1842.

lieved that I should not hold any bitterness, and especially after the friendly and trusting manner in which I have always been welcomed by the Rutgers ladies. He, as well as Madam, received me with pleasure and interest even beyond that which I expected, because I feared having treated him badly in my correspondence. But it seems that he is not rancorous. I found him grown very old; he is past eighty, I believe. His wife is in good health and is well preserved. I did not have the pleasure of seeing Miss Sailli their daughter. She had gone when I left from here. She was blind from a cataract. She went to Lexington on the Ohio, where she found an oculist who operated successfully on one eye so that she sees perfectly. He could not operate on the other because several years before she had had an operation performed here by a Doctor Todson, 69 who pierced the pupil. I enter into this detail because it interests me, having the greatest esteem for this old lady. Upon leaving there, I went to see the widow, Madam Provencher, her sister, who has aged a great deal. To She has three daughters, of whom two are married, and one son. This family is supported by the grandfather and the son, who is employed at the post-office. The two married daughters are with their husbands. I returned to take tea at 7:30 and went to bed between 8:00 and 9:00 o'clock at night.

Tuesday [July] 19

This morning I left at 8:00 o'clock after breakfast in the carriage with my friend, Gustave Soulard, to go to River des Peres to see my dear, good, and respectable sister-in-law, the widow de Lassus de St. Vrain,⁷¹ who lives with her sister, Madam

Todsen came from Copenhagen and lived for a time in Pennsylvania where he married an American girl. He was practising medicine in St. Louis as early as 1817. His wife died in 1823. In 1828 he accompanied Isaac McCoy as surgeon on an exploring expedition in the Indian country (see McDermott, "McCoy's Second Exploring Trip in 1828," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XIII [1945], 402 and n. 10).

⁷⁰ Mary Jeronima Rutgers (see note 68) at St. Louis on 9 July 1803 married Antoine Nicolas Pierre Provenchere who died 8 September 1824. Since Madame Provenchere was to live until 11 June 1869, she had considerable aging yet to do. Billon says that she died in her 86th year. The son employed in the post office must have been Ferdinand, born 3 March 1808, who married Mary F. Linton, widow of Alfred Saugrain, and died 23 September 1878. The three daughters have already been mentioned in note 36 above. The grandfather was Arend Rutgers, for the Provenchere grandfather had died in 1831. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 481.

⁷¹ Marie Felicité, daughter of Louis Chauvet Dubreuil, was born at St. Louis 19 March 1776. On 30 April 1796 she married there Jacques Marcelin Ceran de Hault de Lassus de St. Vrain (c. 1770-1818), younger brother of Charles de Lassus. Jacques St. Vrain, who had been an officer in the French navy, came to America later than his father, the Chevalier de Luzières, and during the Spanish regime commanded a galliot on the Mississippi River. The St. Vrain children were: Charles Emmanuel (note 40); Ceran, born 1798; Felix Auguste Antoine (note 74); Odille Felicité (1802-1819); Elizabeth (1803-1817); Caroline Yasbel, born 1804; Savinien; Dymitille, born 1808; Emma (note 73); Marcelin (note 33). Consult Billon, Annals of St. Jouis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 434; Genealogical Notes, Delassus Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

Frémont de l'Aurière,72 three generous miles from here. I did not find along the way much improvement in this beautiful country, except, however, a great increase in the lands fenced-in and under cultivation. We arrived at the house of Mr. Frémon towards 11:00 o'clock. He hastened immediately towards mewife, children, and grand-children all fell on my neck-he bursting into tears; and one of my nieces, Emma,78 daughter of Madam St. Vrain, recalled to me by the manner in which she received me that her feeling of friendship for me as a child had not cooled during my absence of eleven years. She is now married to the eldest son of Mr. Fremon. They live there-also, the whole family. Finally after having rested a moment, they took me to the lodgings of my afflicted sister-in-law, whom I found in her room, who, upon embracing me, cried a lot. She has been in a state of painful despondency since the loss of one of her sons, who, two or three years ago, was killed in the Blackhoc [Blackhawk] war and cruelly massacred;74 and some time afterwards she lost her eldest son from illness, a result of drunkenness; and both left wives and young children in misery. We remained with Madam St. Vrain until time for dinner at Frémon's. She did not wish to go there and began to cry, telling me: "My brother, do not insist. As you see me, I desire only death." I was struck by the manner in which she pronounced this terrible word. Meanwhile, upon leaving her, I called her son-in-law and his wife, my good Emma: "Go and do your best to bring your mother to dine with the family, and you, Emma, tell her that I gave evidence to you that my visit had not been pleasant for her, since she remained alone in her room in order not to be with me for a

⁷² The most elaborate account of Auguste Charles Fremon (or Fremont) de Laurier (or de Lauriere), especially of his early activities as an educator in Ste. Genevieve in the 1790's, is that of Ernest R. Liljegren, "Frontier Education in Spanish Louisians," Missouri Historical Review, XXXV (1941), 358-372. He married Josephine Celeste, daughter of Louis Chauvet Dubreuil and Susanne Saintous, and sister of Madame St. Vrain; she was born in St. Louis in 1782 and they were married 21 May 1799. Billon said that he was Lord of Bouffay and Des Croix and had been born at Nantes, France. Their daughters, according to Billon, were Susan, married to George Y. Bright: C.O., married to Richard Duval; and a third unnamed girl married to Lucius Phipps. Their sons were DuBouffay, Auguste, Leon—who all dropped the DeLauriere name and were known as Fremon (Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 471). Paul Beckwith (Creoles of St. Louis [St. Louis, 1893], 37n.) named the children as Loraine (married G. V. Bright), Celeste (married R. M. Duvall), Ozite (married Lucius Phipps), DuBuffay (married his cousin Zelina Dubreuil), Charles (married Celeste Dubreuil), Leon and William (died unmarried)—there are many errors, however, in Beckwith's book. See also note 73.

⁷³ Emma, daughter of Jacques St. Vrain and Marie Felicité Dubreuil (note 71), was born at St. Louis 29 March 1812 and married on 14 January 1834 Auguste Fremon Delauriere (or de Lauriere), who died 26 February 1852 (St. Louis Probate Court File No. 3690).

⁷⁴ Felix Auguste Antoine St. Vrain, born 23 March 1799, married at Ste. Genevieve 30 October 1822 Marie Pauline Gregoire, and was killed in the Black Hawk War in 1832 while United States Indian Agent (Genealogical Notes, Delassus Papers, Missouri Historical Society).

longer time." They succeeded in bringing her, and while dining with all the family, she seemed to compose herself a little. After dinner and until time to leave, I chatted with her about different things. I laid great stress upon the misfortunes of the Derbigny family in order to make her see that she was not the only unfortunate one, and praised greately to her my sister's courage. 75 Finally she consented to come to St. Louis to spend several days. I found the old Mr. Frémon little changed, although his physical condition, and perhaps mental, obliges him, as he says, to keep himself confined to his room for several months without going out or communicating with anyone; he is still the same in disposition—talking a lot, good lungs. He made a trip to France among his family in Brittany. He had gone with his eldest son, who later married his cousin, Emma St. Vrain, my niece. They related several ways in which they have squandered their money since their arrival so that they find themselves joined with his whole family on this land in quite narrow circumstances. They live from the revenue of a wheat mill that the two eldest sons manage, but to see this house—a well polished floor, an air of affluence from the cleanliness which reigns there, and the simple, but decent dress of all the ladies, together with a collection of old portraits of the ancestors of Frémon de l'Aurière, which he reports are more than 300 years old, that adorn the room—it gives an air in a certain respect of the old aristocracy, which serves, I believe, as nourishment for his illusive chevaleresque existence. In his political dreams and as an old Breton, he seemed to me to be a true extreme Carlist, from the little politics that we talked of. Besides, I did not notice the pecuniary embarrassment which they, as well as he himself, said they experienced for this dinner, which—prepared by Madam Frémon, not having any cook-was excellent and much too abundant. It is his manner when they receive someone they love. I saw there one of my godchildren, Miss Mayonne [?] Dubreuil,76 one of the daughters of poor Madam St. Vrain's brothers. She is a beautiful young lady, but unfortunately her mother is dead and the father gives up to debauchery and drunkenness, which obliges his daughters

⁷⁸ Madame St. Vrain had lost her husband, two sons, and at least two daughters. Madame Derbigny's husband had been killed in an accident in 1829 and at least one of her daughters had died of tuberculosis in the 1830's. What other misfortunes the Derbigny family may have undergone I am ignorant of.

⁷⁶ Possibly a daughter of Antoine Dubreuil, born St. Louis 16 October 1778, who married in Ste. Genevieve and in 1826 brought his family including "several grown daughters" back to St. Louis. He died about 1840. (Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 434).

to live most often with their kins-people and friends. When I left, Frémon urged me with all his heart to come spend several days with him to talk—that he would have arranged a little corner where I would be comfortable, etc. If he had not mentioned the talks, I would return there.

Wednesday [July] 20

Madam Bonneville came to spend the day here. I am obliged to make retraction. Although a very respectable lady by her age and conduct, she is not what I too quickly had judged her. Thus I shall speak of it no more.⁷⁷

After dinner I went to Le Duc's house. The heat was sweltering. We went to the home of Mr. La Beaume, who is in bed with a bilious fever. I was received by his wife, Francoise, who welcomed me with much courtesy, etc., and making excuses if her husband had not informed me because of his illness. From there, we went to the house of Madam Tharp Leleanor Dubreuil, sister of my sister-in-law, the widow St. Vrain. She is very poor, her husband—a scoundrel—having deserted her shamefully. She is supported by two of her daughters who married well. It is she whom I found the most aged of all the Dubreuil family and relations.

Thursday [July] 21

Yesterday at the home of Mr. Le Duc I found Monseigneur the Bishop Rosaty [Rosati], whom I had been to visit on the eighteenth. I gave him evidence of my regret at not having found him at home. He was of a courtesy and good nature with me that I do not recall ever having seen in the great number of the princes of the church that I have known—a bearing and a manner so simple and so debonnaire, with a conversation without the slightest pretention, to the point that one would be tempted to believe that he has forgotten who he is, so unaffected and simple

⁷⁷ Had Madame Bonneville been talking about Tom Paine?

⁷⁸ Louis Tartaron de La Beaume. It is not Louis Alexandre who was ainé in the family and this man is mentioned later in the diary as the younger; and it is not Theodore, for Charles de Lassus does not meet him until 11 October. These three LaBeaume men were sons of the second marriage of Louis Auguste Tartaron de La Beaume, born in France about 1766, and Susanne Dubreuil of St. Louis (another sister of Madame St. Vrain); consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 467-468.

⁷⁹ Eleanor was another daughter of Louis Chauvet Dubreuil and Susanne Saintous; she married William Tharp and had two daughters: Caroline who married Hezekiah C. Simmons 17 June 1829, and Clarisse who married John R. Shaw of Ste. Genevieve. During a dispute following the Lucas-Benton duel in 1817, Tharp, on being struck by William Smith, a merchant of St. Louis, shot him dead. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 435; Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 102, 246-247.

is he in his manners. Speaking with courtesy, he asked me how I had found the church. He seemed satisfied with my answer, but without showing any arrogance about it, although it was his work, and in great part at his expense.

It has been two days that Mr. Lawles[s] has intended to send me a newspaper which carries a list of all the laws come out at this session,⁸⁰ in which it seems that my financial claim was announced, but I must wait for the law to know if it was granted me in its entirety. We do not yet have the law for the confirmation of lands to know what the amendments are.

Mesdames Caroline Simon and Clarice Shaw, daughters of Madam Tharp, have just paid me a visit of friendship and respect. Having known them well as children, I was very responsive to this token of attachment towards me. Madam Shaw has a charming child. It is she who came last spring to New Orleans and who went to see my daughter-in-law. I did not go out today because of the heat.

Friday July 22

Wrote to my sister, by way of a steamboat which expects to leave this afternoon, about the visits received; general welcome; visits of former people of note; my visit to the Frémon home, their situation, how I was received, etc., the dinner, the waxed room, nice family, etc.; the condition of Madam St. Vrain; that she tell Charles that I will write him definitely when we shall have received the law of confirmation and of my claim, that I turned his papers over to Le Duc, who wrote on this subject to someone; about the news and about the family, etc. I am anxious to receive it for my son, to whom I am waiting to write how the laws of confirmation and claims came out. In spite of all the receptions that one gives me, I desire the time to draw near and to be near her, etc. Did not go out because of the heat except for a moment towards night to the home of Le Duc.

Saturday July 23

I went in the morning to Le Duc's for the claim against Mr. Wm. Gibson, who is in St. Louis. He saw Mr. Le Duc and told him that he would honor his note if we could wait for it several days, to which I agreed, having been informed that he has the

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^{*}O The list of acts passed by the 1st session of the 24th Congress was published in the Missouri Republican on 19 July 1836.

means to satisfy it. I handed the note⁸¹—authorized to A. Lassus and Montreuil—over to Mr. Le Duc, who makes himself responsible for recovering it, if he [Gibson] keeps his word, being in a better position to do so living in town. I wrote to Messrs. L[assus] and M[ontreuil], bearing the date of today, by way of the Oceano, a steamboat which leaves tomorrow.⁸² I had forgotten that yesterday, in spite of the heat, we had made several visits with Mr. Le Duc to the homes of my old acquaintances. In the afternoon, did not go out because of the bad weather—a storm and strong wind which beat down a large quantity of fruit, among others, the pears, of which there were not many this year.

Sunday July 24

Last night there was a dance in a house nearby where there is a cabaret. The men and the chattering prostitutes—the whole thing made so much noise all the night that I hardly slept. Mr. Frederick Saugrain, married to Miss Provencher, has just visited me.⁸³ He arrives from Arkansas. He carries on trade with the Indians. He says that all is quiet there with the savages and that they have done a good busines. After dinner I went to find Mr. Le Duc. We made five visits to the homes of old acquaintances and relations.

Monday [July] 25 and Tuesday [July] 26

Did not go out Monday. Rain a great part of the day. Today the twenty-sixth, Gustave Soulard left with Mr. Frederick Saugrain to go to visit an estate on the Marameck [Meramec]. After dinner to town to walk with Mr. Le Duc. We talked about land. The law of confirmation is finally reported in the newspaper, the *Republican*. There is an amendment by each house which cuts off a part of it, but my 30,000 arpents are confirmed and others in which I am interested.⁸⁴ The law for my relief is not yet published. Thus, is it a part or the whole?

⁸¹ The Delassus-Montreuil letterbook in the Johnson Collection of Delassus Papers contains a copy of the letter dated New Orleans, 28 June 1836, authorizing Charles de Lassus to collect this note, due on 18 July; the sum was \$1274.75.

s2 The Oceano, Captain Bettzhoover, originally scheduled to leave for New Orleans on 21, was advertised in the Missouri Republican for departure on the 24th.

⁸³ Frederick, fourth child of Dr. Antoine Saugrain and Genevieve Rosalie Michau, was born in St. Louis 24 March 1806. He married Elise Provenchere (note 36).

sa The act confirming the grants, as passed by the Senate on 25 March 1836, was published in the Missouri Republican on 26 July. Twenty-seven exceptions to this confirmation were there listed.

We visited Mesdames Auguste Chouteau, the younger, Simon and Shaw, Papiche, Renard, and La Beaume, the younger. 85 Her husband is better.

Wednesday [July] 27

Every Wednesday beginning at 10:00 o'clock we have a visit from Madam Bonneville. She really should come a little later, but she is a good and respectable lady. In the afternoon I went to town. We visited the old P. Cadet Chouteau, where we agreed that he is going to commission G[enera]l Hacheley [Ashley] our representative to go on the premises to sell his land of 30,000 arpents, which has just been confirmed, on La Mine River (in Missoury), of which I have half.⁸⁶ After the expenses, the commission of Acheley [Ashley], etc., it can be that if it is sold there will not remain very much for my share, or it may be reduced at least by one-third.

Thursday [July] 28 Friday [July] 29

On the twenty-eighth I went to Le Duc's house. We talked about my plans, and I remained there until night, but I cannot make him agree with me. The matter of the Brazeau succession, not being concluded as yet, is an obstacle to my transactions, and it would seem that these gentlemen would like to treat me as the Turks treated the Moors. On the twenty-ninth, I went to town in the morning, and I remained to dine with Mr. Le Duc at the home of Mr. Hipolite Papin. We talked again about our lands, about the sales. The plan of Mr. Le Duc is to wait and

ss The diary reads Madame Auguste Chouteau, cadet. There was no preson properly to be so designated (see note 31). The only two ladies of this name in St. Louis were the widow of the first Auguste (see note 61) and the wife of Auguste Pierre Chouteau (born Sophie Labadie, 1786, married A.P.C. 1809, and died 1863). It must have been the latter which Charles Delassus visited on this occasion. Madames Simon and Shaw have been identified in note 79. Madame Papiche is a name unknown to me. Madame Hyacinthe Renard was born Marie Louis Papin (see note 37). Madame La Beaume the younger was apparently the wife of Louis T. LaBeaume identified in note 78.

⁸⁶ Pierre Chouteau's concession of 30,000 arpents dated from a gift by the Osage Indians in 1792. It was officially granted to him in 1799 and was finally recommended to be confirmed in November 1833 (24th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 59, pp. 252-255).

firmed in November 1833 (24th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 59, pp. 252-255).

**The affair of the Brazeau succession is a frequent subject in the latter portion of this diary. It will suffice to say now that on 1 October 1824 Charles Delassus made an indenture acknowledging his indebtedness to Baptiste Duchouquette for \$2725 and to Marie Thérèse Brazeau for \$2651, being "sums... due upon two judgments obtained at the last June Term of the Circuit Court". For security of these debts, which were to be paid off in two years, Delassus pledged 8,000 arpents of land, being an undivided part of a then unconfirmed concession of 30,000 arpents granted by Zenon Trudeau 10 February 1798. The involved state of ownership of this tract apparently had made impossible any settlement of the Duchouquette-Brazeau claims for ten years after they were due. The original indenture is in the Johnson Collection of Delassus Papers. The case of Ulrici, Adm'r of Delassus & McCarty v. Papin et al. (11 Missouri Reports, 45) shows that the debt to Duchouquette had arisen from failure to meet a mortgage of \$2800 on Delassus' home farm at St. Louis which had become due on 20 December 1823.

⁸⁸ The diary reads here: du turque a mort.

sell little by little in order to get a better profit from them. And I wish to sell at once in order to settle my debts with him and others and to enjoy the small or large amount which will result as a profit for me after my debts are paid. Mr. Hy[polite] P[apin] received me with signs of friendliness and acts of courtesy. At this dinner, although pot-luck, his wife welcomed me most graciously, as well as all the family. I told them of an item from the letter which I have just received from my sister, which concerns his daughter, Manette, so who spent several days in New Orleans with us, and whom my sister, in recalling her to mind, will see again with pleasure, etc. After dinner we paid a visit to the home of Madame Papin the elder where we found the two young ladies, Miss Le Beau and Miss Villère Papin, the latter young and with a charming face, whose character, Le Duc says, corresponds to her face.

Saturday [July] 30

Answered my sister's letter of the eleventh, received the twenty-seventh, and written in answer to my two last letters written since my arrival here, things being still in the same condition. This morning the widow, Madam Auguste Chouteau, came here for information concerning the location of the old cemetery and church,⁹¹ which, it seems, is now found in lots, yards, or streets, and as one digs. It seems that when this was done [blank in ms.] years ago one forgot, or the families neglected, to have the human remains removed, and now the diggers are finding human bones. The widow, Madam C[houteau], is making inquiries in order to find out where the remains of the mother of her dead husband have been placed, who was buried in the church, but whose remains were not found at the time of exhumation.⁹² It is very strange and extraordinary that competent author-

89 Marie Louise Papin, who married Eugene Charles Dupré (born in Paris, 1817), lithographer who published an Atlas of St. Louis there in 1838.

⁹⁰ Madame Papin the elder should be Madame Joseph Papin. Villeré must have been Marie Clementine, born 1819, the daughter of Silvestre Vilray (as it was commonly written) Papin (1794-1828) and Clementine Loisel; she married Leopold Carrière in 1838 and died after 1900. Mrs. Hypolite Papin was her aunt as Hypolite was her uncle. Miss LeBeau was her connection: Marie Louise Taillon, widow of Registre Loisel (the parents of Clementine, Madame S. V. Papin, and grandparents of Villeré Papin) married secondly François LeBeau in 1813; this Miss LeBeau must have been their child and she would then have been half-aunt to Villeré Papin.

⁹¹ The old church had faced Second Street and the river on the block between Market and Walnut streets. The cathedral of 1834, in the same square, faced Walnut, between Second and Third.

⁹³ Marie Thérèse Bourgeois, born New Orleans 1733 and died St. Louis 1814. She married René Auguste Chouteau at New Orleans in 1748 and had Auguste, Pierre, Victoire, Pelagie, and Marie Louise. The church in which Madame Chouteau had been buried had been superseded by the Cathedral of 1818 and again by the new cathedral of 1834.

ities do not take measures to remedy this repugnant and disgusting confusion, dishonorable for the country—as much for the old population as for the new, which is prosperous and enterprising.

Sunday [July] 31

This morning Gustave Soulard told me that his wife's uncle, Dr. Lane, who has just left for the East, had asked him whether I wanted to sell my lands in entirety or in part. According to what he had heard said, I wanted to rid myself of them all if I found a reasonable price; since he was commissioned by a capitalistic company to buy them, in this case he had only to write as soon as possible what were my intentions in this matter, my conditions, and price. In seeing Le Duc home tonight, who dined here today, I informed him of this proposition, which, to my great astonishment after our former conversations on this subject, seemed to please him, he even entering into the manner in which we should act, and giving me to understand that it will be necessary to act with caution in order to avoid obstacles from the opposition as regards those which have been included in the amendment, and which have been sent back for a new verification, as much for us as for the other claimants. And as he had always told me that I would not be able to get rid of my lands in this manner, today he repeats to me that he had told me well what I would not have found out from a thousand persons in St. Louis—that it is necessary that there be speculators and capitalists from outside . . . I had a visit from Mr. René Paul.

Monday August 1

After dinner we went with Mr. Le Duc in a carriage to visit above the city Mr. Silvestre L'Abadie.⁹³ We found Madam; he had gone out. He is still sick in an annoying and valetudinarian manner, suffering much from hemorrhoids which grow worse with age. Afterwards we took a walk up to the old La Beaume home.⁹⁴ The city on the bank of the river, which is a mile from this house, extended up to that point without interruption—a great number of buildings, residences, factories, mills, etc. We

⁹³ Silvestre Labadie the younger was the only son of Silvestre Labbadie (as the father spelled the name) and Pelagie Chouteau. He was born in St. Louis in 1779, was educated in France, and died in St. Louis in 1849. On 5 June 1807 he married his cousin Victoire (daughter of Charles Gratiot and Victoire Chouteau) who died in 1860.

⁹⁴ On 8 May 1804 Louis A. T. Labeaume, sr., bought 160 arpents about five miles north of the town on what was to become the Bellefontaine Road and which now forms part of Bellefontaine Cemetery.

returned by climbing the hill. Eleven years ago there were several houses; today all this hill is built up and occupied. It is a superb view. Establishments of all kinds abound there and are connected without interruption above and below to the old city. While walking on the hill, we entered a kind of steam mill for cutting thick planks into very varied woodwork. It makes boards of every dimension and thickness desired, it makes plain lumber and that tongue and grooved. It cuts each day as much as one hundred of the most skillful joiners could do. This machine was manufactured at a foundry here, and cost only \$700 more than if it had come from the factories of the East, which the proprietor recovers in case of accident because he is in a position to have it repaired here, finding there the same moulds, and is in a position to be serviced immediately.95 In returning across all these new streets on this hill, which only a little time ago was nothing but a vast and sparsely wooded prairie, and which now offers the most beautiful view in this most beautiful and completely picturesque country, we returned to pay a visit to the home of the colonel, Judge Lawles[s]. We did not see Madam who was indisposed. We talked about our claims. It is detestable to hear reported all the obstacles which iniquity and desire produce in order to try to prevent justice finally being rendered us. The most absurd and unjust opposition has been put forward, which one believes was the cause of the amendment which prevented that the complete report of the commissioners be confirmed, but at least a great part was confirmed at this session.

Tuesday August 2 and Wednesday [August] 3

Yesterday, the second, we took a walk after dinner, Le Duc and I, to the pond of Mr. Chouteau, which has become a part of the succession of Mr. C. Chouteau, his son.⁹⁶ He supports the pond

Machine recently put into operation in this city by Mr. JAMES KIPP. A half hour's examination of it yesterday, convinced us of its utility, and of the claims of Mr. K. to the support of the public. The machinery is in all respects perfect; and we understood that it was capable of turning out six hundred Planks per day, completely finished. The whole operation is performed with wonderful velocity. One portion of this machinery is employed in ripping the plank, which is done with great exactness. It is then transferred to another machine, where it undergoes the operation of planing and is tongued and grooved—all of which is done at the same time. The joints are so well fitted as to make them almost imperceptible; and we see no reason why the plank should not be used in any floor.—The time required for this work is trifting when compared with the usual tardy and laborious process; and when it is known that it costs but about half the sum commonly paid for it, and may be put down by the most inexpert hand, the machine plank must come into general use." (Missouri Republican, 2 July 1836). Keemle's St. Louis Directory for 1836-7 listed two foundries: the St. Louis Foundry, Bemis, Kingsland & Lightner, proprietors, at Third Street north of the New Market; and the Mississippi Foundry operated by Gaty and Coonce on North First Street above the Missouri Hotel.

⁹⁶ That is, Cerré Chouteau—see note 32.

with the mill.97 There is no change there other than a quantity of pretty houses built in the neighborhood on lots that the heirs have sold, which form the most picturesque site built in the middle of groves of trees which mingle with the houses. We paid him a visit and returned to the house of Mr. René Paul and my grand niece, his daughter-in-law. He was not there. From there we went to see Mr. G[abrie] Paul, his brother. He was at the market place. We met Dr. Farar [Farrar]98 an old acquaintance, who, as soon as he recognized me, dismounted from his horse to welcome me, urging me to go to see him in the country. He urged also Mr. Le Duc, his patient; but he no longer practices medicine. We met Madam Newman, Zarelle La Beaume, 99 whom I had not found at home. In giving me evidence of her regret she invited me to dine as well as Le Duc, who asked her when she would give us a good one. To which she replied: "Choose the day." Finally she asked us for Thursday, which we accepted. Today I had a visit from Judge E. L. Lawles[s]. He asked me to go into my room in order to speak to me. We spent at least an hour together speaking of many interesting things. He finished by asking me if I wished to sell all my lands. Upon my answer, he made me the proposition that it would be almost cash or on very short terms—that he was commissioned. I asked him how much he believed that I should ask. After some observation, he told me \$60,000, and that it was necessary to note that there was a part of it rejected by the congress, although they might finally be confirmed, and others which would never be confirmed, for, as for him, he would never present them—such as those of Mwl and Morgan. 100 I made no answer to him other than that I must consider. He urged me to give him an answer day after tomorrow, but that it would be necessary that I wait for the money until the month of October. He did not wish that Mr. Le Duc

P7 The first mill had been built by Joseph Michel dit Taillon at the founding of St. Louis. Pierre LaClede bought him out and had an improved stone mill erected. After his death Auguste Chouteau bought and rebuilt the mill, which became known as Chouteau's mill and the mill pond formed by the damming of the stream (then generally called La Petite Rivière) was called Chouteau's Pond, since he owned all the land surrounding it. Through the first half of the 19th century this pond was one of the most attractive features of St. Louis and was the subject of many paintings.

⁹⁸ Dr. Bernard Gaines Farrar, son of Joseph Royal Farrar, was born in Virginia and moved to St. Louis from Frankfort, Kentucky, about 1807. He was married twice: in 1811 to Sarah, daughter of Major William Christy, and in 1820 to Ann Clark Thurston. He died in 1849; his widow in 1878. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 240-241. Farrar was the first president of the Medical Society of Missouri, organized at St. Louis 7 January 1836.

⁹⁹ Orthography of diary very difficult to decipher. Apparently this was Susanne LeBeaume, daughter of Louis Auguste Tartaron de LaBeaume and Susanne Dubreuil. She married on 1 May 1824 Jonas Newman (1795-1849) and died in 1849. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 468; Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 361-862.

¹⁰⁰ Manuscript difficult-identification not possible.

know it before we came to a conclusion, which did not please me. We went out together as far as the house of Mr. Le Duc, with whom I returned here at night. He informed me that Gibson had been to his house and had promised him to return the next day to pay the note owed to the firm of A. Lassus and M[on]treuil; that was several days ago and he had not reappeared; that he was going to speak of it to the money broker, Mr. Condé Benoit, and that if the latter did not take it upon himself to prosecute him, that he would send his note to a lawyer in Ste. Genevieve, the place of his residence.

He told me also, after having talked on the subject of my debt to Brazeau and L'ami[Lamy],¹⁰¹ that he was going to try to make arrangements for me to buy back their claim against me. As for him, may he succeed!

Thursday [August] 4

Went out at noon to drive to the home of Mr. Newman to accept my share of the invitation made day before yesterday by Madam. She received me with the greatest kindness. Her husband, although not speaking French, through the medium of Madam did me much honor, and urged me to visit them often. I found there the children of a former servant, whom my father had brought from France, and whom, because of his faithfulness and attachment for us, I later attached to me at New Madrid to keep the house I had as commandant. And when I returned here in 1800 as Lieutenant Governor, he had become a friend, and I admitted him to my table, which gave him a great boost into the society of the country to the point that he finished by marrying a Miss La Beaume, daughter of La Beaume's first marriage. They both died and left six children, almost all of age—four grown young ladies and two men. 102 It is with them that I dined

¹⁰¹ The Duchouquette-Lamy connection goes back to Celeste Barrios, born in Montreal in 1737, who in 1757 at Kaskaskia married François Lafleur Duchouquette. After his death his widow married Michel Lamy at Ste. Genevieve in 1776. Her son Jean Baptiste Duchouquette at St. Louis in 1798 married Marie Thérèse Brazeau; he died in 1818 and she in 1834. The Baptiste to whom Delassus was in debt must have been a son of this pair. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 447-438, 454-456.

Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 447-438, 454-456.

102 Albert Tison was an inhabitant of Upper Louisiana as early as 1793. According to testimony given on 19 November 1833 he lived for two and one-half years in the family of Zenon Trudeau and then was attached to the administration of Delassus until the end of his government in 1804. In 1803 he was a deputy surveyor. On 1 May 1806 he married at St. Louis Marie Louise Lucille, daughter of Louis Auguste Tartaron de LaBeaume by his first wife Adelaide Dutemple, who was born in France in 1788. Mrs. Newman and Madame Tison therefore were half-sisters. The six children were: Adele (who married Theodore L. McGill 9 August 1823), Rosalie (unmarried), Lucille (married Thomas S. Rutherford, 18 December 1840), Caroline (married John Birkenbine 14 June 1838), Hypolite (married a Miss Baker), and Auguste. Consult 24th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 59, pp. 24-25; Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 468-469.

today, less one of them. They live there. Madam Meguire [Maguire], who lives with Madam Newman, is at Philadelphia to place two of her sons in a deaf and dumb asylum, they having been afflicted thus since birth. Mr. Le Duc, county judge, came to dine also, but was obliged to leave the table at 3:00 o'clock to go sit in court. I did not see him any more during the day. After dinner I went to the store where my nephew, Marcelin, is a clerk. I spent the rest of the afternoon with him.

Friday [August] 5

It rained all day. I spent it in calculating my lands which had been confirmed and those not c[onfirmed], and in making a note of my list; and answered in writing Mr. Lawles[s] according to the copies—dated today. I finished when the sun was setting, and I asked Gustave S[ou]l[ar]d to send my letter to Mr. Lawles[s]. He had a restive horse caught; after the negro battling with it, as well as the master, the latter had him catch another, and in his agitation he gave the letter over to the negro, who did not understand very well and who took it to the post-office. As a result Lawles[s] will not receive it before tomorrow, if he received it. He received it and answered me.

Saturday [August] 6 and Sunday [August]7

While I was writing my son, G[as]ton Soulard arrived. He has changed much in twelve years, without being old; his features have taken on much strength; he has gray hair, and has turned very brown. We greeted each other as two good friends who had not seen each other for a long time. He brought me a letter from his mother in answer to the one that I wrote her upon my arrival here. We talked all the rest of the day and all today, Sunday, of our respective families and of all the misfortunes that we have experienced—he especially being reduced to the point of not being able to give bread to his family. But thanks to God, his family and mine are going to be in more comfortable circumstances because of the confirmation of our lands.

¹⁰³ Emilie Marie Provenchere, daughter of Antoine Nicolas Pierre Provenchere and Mary Jeronima Rutgers, married George Maguire 26 November 1833. They had only one child, Mary, who married Charles W. Francis. The reference to deaf and dumb sons is an error corrected in the entry for 5 October.

Monday [August] 8

Continued my long letter to my son. This morning Mr. Le Duc came. Brought me all the titles of our lands that he has kept and turned over to me faithfully. He has had them for twenty years, and has given me some very good opinions and advice about the sales. He left immediately after dinner to go sit in court. Afterwards, I continued my letter to my son which I hope to finish tomorrow.

We had to dinner Mr. F. Saugrain and Madam, and Miss Julie Provencher, his sister-in-law. 104

Tuesday [August] 9

Today concluded my letter to my son and took it to the post-office to prepay it as far as New York. From there it will leave by steamboat for Le Havre and from there to Paris by sail. 105 It probably will not leave until the eleventh. I went to see Le Duc. It has been three days since I went out because of the bad weather. We talked of proposals that have been made to us for our lands. I am not in agreement with the low prices for which one wished to have them.

Wednesday [August] 10 Thursday [August] 11 Friday [August] 12

These three days still just about the same thing. I received an answer to an ultimatum for what I asked for my lands to Mr. E. L. L[a]wl[e]s[s], who did not accept it. We talk a lot with the good, pleasant, and interesting G[aston] Soulard.

Saturday [August] 13

Yesterday I received something other than the answer from Mr. Lawles[s], already cited. He sent me a kind of document to sign for his fifth, advising me to make a similar amount in favor of his associate, Stroddoir [Strother]. This arrangement does

¹⁰⁴ Frederick Saugrain and his wife Elise. Julie must have been one of the other names of Eulalie—see note 36.

¹⁰⁵ Auguste, with his wife and children, had left New Orleans on 16 May, arrived at Le Havre on 23 June, and was at Paris on 1 July. Unfortunately the letters written by Delassus to him and to Madame Derbigny are not to be found.

¹⁰⁶ George F. Strother was born in Virginia in 1787, came to St. Louis in 1820, and practised law there until his death in 1840 (Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 357-358).

not please me. I do not wish to make any division. I shall propose other arrangements to him. It is threatening to storm, and it is so warm today that I shall not go out.

Sunday [August] 14

Spent the day with Le Duc, who came to dine here. I had a visit from Mr. G[abrie] Paul, who told me that Mr. Sallard, French consul at New Orleans, had been here for two days. He is returning to France on leave, and traveling through the United States.

Monday [August] 15

Judge Lawles[s] came to see me in order to make arrangements with me for his fifth, which is coming to him from my confirmed lands, of which he took charge with sagacity, zeal; and he took all possible pains and overcame every opposition that was presented to him, as much here in the United States Court as in Congress, and which had the result for him here of being imprisoned and suspended from his functions as a lawyer by the unjust and iniquitous Judge Peck, deceased, of the above mentioned court, etc.¹⁰⁷ But the proposals that he made to me not having pleased me, I gave him evidence of it, and we agreed that he would confer with Le Duc tomorrow and that he would choose from each map his prorata of the fifth which is coming to him. At any chance as much for him as for me in choosing from one of the four areas of sale from each map, etc.

Tuesday [August] 16

Received letter from my sister dated the second. This morning the good and invalid Madam Chénier¹⁰⁸ came to see me, accompanied by her brother-in-law, Mr. Le Duc. In the afternoon I went to town. I made several visits. Did not see Le Duc; he is still sitting in court in the evening.

Wednesday [August] 17 rain as well as Thursday [August] 18

¹⁰⁷ James H. Peck was born in Tennessee in 1790 and came to St. Louis in 1818, and died there 30 April 1836. Two years after the United States District Court of Missouri was organized in 1822, it was assigned by Congress the duty of passing on land claims. The first such case was concerned with a claim by Antoine Soulard, for whom Luke E. Lawless was attorney. Peck, on request, published in the spring of 1826, in the Missouri Republican, his opinion in the Soulard case. Lawless replied with an article commenting on the opinion. Peck then cited him for contempt, sentenced him to twety-four hours in jail, and suspended him from practice for eighteen months. Lawless eventually brought about the impeachment of Peck in 1830; Peck was acquitted. Consult Charles B. Davis, "Judge James Hawkins Peck," Missouri Historical Review, XXVII (1932), 3-20.

¹⁰⁸ An obit in French for Marie Thérèse Papin, aged not quite 56 years, wife of Antoine Chenié (or Chenier) can be found in the St. Louis Missouri Saturday News, 8 February 1840. Her husband (born in Canada, 1768) came to St. Louis in 1795 and died there in 1842. She was the second daughter of Joseph Marie Papin and Marie Louise Chouteau. The Chenié-Papin marriage took place 26 October 1805.

Friday [August] 19

Yesterday after dinner I went to town. Did not find Le Duc. He has been sitting in court very late for several days. I visited Messrs. Wondphul [von Phul]¹⁰⁹ and P. Hunt.¹¹⁰

Saturday [August] 20 and Sunday [August] 21

Nothing of note during these two days. Today, Sunday, Le Duc came to dine here.

Monday [August] 22 Tuesday [August] 23

Nothing interesting.

Did not go out. Wrote to my sister telling her of my surprise in answering her letter of the second that she has not yet received the letters that I mention having written her since my arrival, etc., etc. Wrote also to Ch[ar]l[e]s D[er]b[ign]y, my nephew, sending him the official copy of the law which confirms our lands, with my observations, hopes, and difficulties, but that I hope not to have made a trip in vain, etc. Asked that he send me some of his good old wine on the return trip of the Collel [Collier], etc.

[Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, August] 24, 25, 26

Nothing interesting. Wrote also to Montreuil according to the copies.

[Saturday, Sunday, Monday, August] 27, 28, 29

Nothing interesting. I have been indisposed from bile since the twenty-seventh. I stick to warm water and mint—also to a diet in order to avoid taking medicine.

Tuesday [August] 30

I am better.

Received two letters from my sister, the widow Madam D[er]b[ign]y, dated the nineteenth of this month, who tells me

¹⁰⁰ Henry Von Phul, son of William Von Phul and Catharine Graff, was born in Philadelphia in 1784, moved to Lexington, Kentucky, in 1800, and to St. Louis in 1811. There he married Rosalie, daughter of Dr. Antoine Saugrain and Genevieve Rosalie Michau on 10 June 1816. He died in 1874 and she in 1887. At this time his residence was at no. 31 Chestnut Street; the business house of Von Phul and McGill was at 27 North First Street. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 265-266; Keemle, St. Louis Directory for 1836-7.

¹¹⁰ The initial is uncertain, but it is most probable that this was Wilson Price Hunt, then Postmaster of St. Louis, and best known today for his share in the Astoria venture. He married on 20 April 1836 Anne Lucas, widow of his cousin Theodore Hunt, and died in 1842.

of having received the four letters, that I had written her since my departure, on the afternoon of the eighteenth. They were in care of Ch[ar]l[e]s, her son; either he probably did not send to the post-office, or they probably remained until the list had fallen under his eyes.

Wednesday [August] 31

I do not feel so well as yesterday. I attribute it to the cold rain from the northeast which has been falling since last night. Although I have been wearing a flannel shirt and clothes of heavy broadcloth for two weeks, the mornings and nights are cold, and especially for me accustomed for twelve years to the climate of New Orleans. Yesterday afternoon I went to town by carriage and walked back with Judge Le Duc. In the morning my friend Gaston told me of the arrival of the law for my relief, which is only the interest on the capital of \$1333, which was paid me in 1832—from September, 1810, at six per cent to 1832. I shall still have to put in a claim for the rest that was not granted me, having been stolen from me in the same manner and being due for my salary etc. What I am going to receive will amount to \$1745.79 more or less (There remains for me to claim \$6000 with interest from the year 1810, September.) 111

Thursday September 1

I am much better today, which causes me not to take the pills of H[Offman] (druggist at St. Louis), which is a substitute for Lee's and which Gaston gave me. Knowing Mr. H[Offman]¹¹² very well, he assures me that there is nothing in them which can be injurious. He has made use of them for a long time with success, but if I continue to feel as this morning, I shall not put them to the test this time.

¹¹¹ In September 1810 American insurgents in the West Florida Rebellion seized in the official residence of Delassus at Baton Rouge \$1333 of his own money and \$6000 of public (Spanish) money; of the latter amount Delassus claimed \$1260 as salary due him as governor at Baton Rouge plus about \$600 due for house rent, both covering a period of about twenty months. By act of Congress passed 14 July 1832 \$1333 was paid to Delassus. By act passed 2 July 1836 6% interest on that sum was authorized. The Senate's passage of this bill for relief on 20 June had been mentioned in the Missouri Republican on 7 July 1836. In February 1838 Delassus petitioned again for his rights in the \$6,000 of public money but was denied 24 April 1838. The record does not show that he was ever justified in claiming the full \$6,000 but further petitions in 1840 and 1843 were also rejected in whole or part. Consult 25th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Doc. No. 401; 26th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Doc. No. 325; 27th Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Doc. No. 170.

¹¹² Herman Laidley Hoffman was born 1796 in Winchester County, New York, came to St. Louis in 1819, and died there in 1878. He married Jane Stoddard, widow of Edward Charless and of Henry S. Geyer. He was a doctor of medicine and at this time maintained a drug business at 6 North First Street. He was also City Treasurer and a member of the St. Louis Public School Board. Consult Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days; Scharf, History of St. Louis, II, 1521; Keemle, St. Louis Directory for 1836-7.

Friday [September] 2 and Saturday [September] 3

Did not go out on the first and second. Le Duc came to spend the day with me. Talked as regards the sale of our lands, but buyers are not plentiful. Spoke at length of my creditors, Brazeau and Dch.¹¹³ Le Duc is not of the opinion of approaching them, for fear of failure to receive justice from them. He is still of the opinion that we should let time pass, and I see only an increase of interest as a result.

He does not seem as anxious as I for us to convert our lands into money. Nevertheless, he is almost as old as I, and besides the fact that he is interested in the sale of our lands, I am his debtor by nearly \$30000, which I wish to settle with him before leaving here. It is true that we need buyers!

Today, although hardly having slept last night, I continue to be better.

We have to dinner Colonel Cambel,¹¹⁴ Major Cambel, with the wife of the first, a little girl, and a Madam Steward,¹¹⁵ widow and authoress who is writing her travels, etc.

Sunday [September] 4 and Monday [September] 5

Nothing interesting. I am much better. I took a walk into town and with Le Duc. Just as we went to re-read the instructions that Ch[ar]l[e]s D[er]b[ign]y gave us as regards the sale of the land of his father's succession in order to bring it to a conclusion, we found ourselves stopped by the law of this country—because of the heir, Alphonse Le Breton, a minor. In Mr. Le Duc will see if there is some way of settling this unfavorable affair. The lawsuit to conclude it will be long because of the reviews in court in the county in which the land is located, etc.

¹¹⁸ So abbreviated in the diary, but obviously Duchouquette. See note 87.

¹¹⁴ It has not been possible to identify these Campbells. They cannot be the fur-trading family, for Colonel Robert Campbell was not married until 1841 and Hugh did not come out to St. Louis until 1859. The only person of this named listed in Keemle's St. Louis Directory for 1836-7 was a Dr. C. Campbell.

¹¹⁵ This apparently was Catherine Stewart whose New Homes in the West was published at Nashville in 1843. She was at Galena and St. Louis in the summer of 1836, but gave only a very brief account of St. Louis in this very small book. There seems to be no mention of her in either the Missouri Republican or the Commercial Bulletin, but in the latter paper there was reprinted on 24 August 1836 a long letter dated Galena July 20, describing a trip to St. Peters, originally printed in the Gazette and Galena Advertiser; it was signed "C.S."—there can be no doubt about its authorship.

¹¹⁶ Alphonse was the only child of Noel Barthélemy LeBreton (son of Barthélemy François LeBreton and his second wife Jeanne Eulalie Robin de Logny) by his second wife, a daughter of Pierre Derbigny and Odille Delassus. He had previously been married to another Derbigny daughter who had died childless. Noel was to marry a third time, have seven more children, and die in New Orleans 29 August 1849. See also note 6 above. Consult Arthur and Huchet de Kernion, Old Families of Louisiana, 72-80.

Yesterday upon going to the post-office, I was overjoyed to receive some letters from my children, having arrived at Le Harve the twenty-third of last June. They had left from New Orleans May 16.117

Tuesday [September] 6 Wednesday [September] 7 Nothing interesting.

Thursday [September] 8

I dined by invitation with Messrs. Le Duc, Chénier, Hipolite and Darti[g]ny Papin at the home of Mr. Papin the elder. Having showed me that he was delighted to have me at his home, Madam, his American wife, showed me much attention and courtesy.¹¹⁸

After dinner we went about four o'clock to the home of Mr. Cadet P. Chouteau, père, in order to see there General Acheley [Ashley], just returned from La Mine River, where he had gone to see about selling a concession which has just been confirmed in which I am interested and he also, Dr. P. Chouteau, 119 the concessionnaire. According to his report, it seems that he was not able to put into execution the instructions that Mr. Cadet had given him to sell the whole and for not less than \$3 an arpent, in view of the fact that he found many people established thereon by claims and others without any right other than that they believed that these lands would never be confirmed; but that all desired to buy the tracts on which they were established according to the quality; that having been limited in his instructions, he had returned to communicate with us; that a sale such as it had been prescribed to him could not take place for the whole, no person presenting himself for such a quantity; that in his opinion as an interested party he believed after what he had just seen and heard that the best thing to do would be to sell at reasonable prices to those who are established there and to get as much profit as one could for the time being. By making friends of these persons or inhabitants who already have buildings of consequence on this land and who desire to make arrangements in a friendly

¹¹⁷ The Delassus Papers of the Missouri Historical Society contains a number of the letters written by Auguste on this trip to France. This one was written from Le Havre on 24 June 1836 and was replied to by Charles on 21 September.

¹¹⁸ Madame Joseph Papin had been a Mrs. Bradshaw when he married her in 1820.
119 The diary seems to read "Dtr P. Ch." which makes no sense, since this is certainly Pierre Chouteau, senior, and Dr. is a title which never could be applied to him.

manner, and then making a division of the remainder themselves, they would see to it that buyers come forward in the proper manner—but a thing that Acheley [Ashley] did not wish to take upon himself on account of afterwards being exposed to our reproaches. As no capitalist presents himself for the whole and since we need to sell, in this case before they were confirmed, I have always been of the opinion that we should have nothing better to do than to make arrangements with all those who were established on our lands, as many by claims as those sold by the congress in order to avoid burdensome proceedings and other lawsuits to obtain valid titles, which would perhaps take us still a very long time before being in possession. These gentlemen, and especially Mr. Cadet, fils, 120 who was present to interpret, found my thought very sound and very good; and Mr. Le Duc then observed that in this case we should consider Mr. Acheley [Ashley] an interested party. Then if we employ him for ourselves, we must have complete confidence in him, and if that confidence exists, we must give him an unlimited power for acting and terminating for the best of our interests. We were all in agreement. As a result, Mr. Le Duc drew up an unlimited power of attorney, which Mr. P. Chouteau, as owner of the confirmed land, signed. The land is 30,000 arpents in area. I had acquired half of it, but the expenses for having it confirmed and the other charges of Acheley [Ashley] cause me to possess no more than 11,250 arpents, which will probably be reduced still more by this last expedition of the said Acheley [Ashley]. How to do otherwise if no capitalist wishes to come forward who will take upon himself all those lands that I possess and others? For my square mile on the Gaboury River¹²¹ which has been posted by Mr. Le Duc for such a long time, and no one coming forward, Colonel Lawles[s] has just written to one of his friends, and we are going to take means of having it sold at auction on the premises. It has been confirmed for more than a year.

Friday [September] 9

We went to dine today by invitation at the home of Colonel E. L. Lawles[s]—Messrs. G[a]st[on] and Gustave Soulard, his wife, Mr. Le Duc. He received us, as did Madam L[awless], with

¹²⁰ Pierre Chouteau, junior.
121 This tract of 7056 arpents originally granted by Zenon Trudeau to the Chevalier de Luzières on 1 April 1795 was among the lands confirmed to Charles Delassus. It lay in present St. François County, Missouri, near Farmington. It was not disposed of at this time, for at least 6056 arpents of it appears in the inventory of real estate held by Delassus in Missouri at the time of his death (St. Louis Probate Court File No. 1900-B).

courtesy. A nice dinner, very daintly prepared and elegantly served, all the more appreciated because Madam Lawles[s] does not have a cook, and having to serve it only two young white children, of whom one is the nursegirl of her two young children—a girl of eight to nine years and a boy of two to three years. This lady must indeed be philosophic—after having been the wife of the ambassador from Prussia to the United States, although now wife of the judge of the D[is]tr[ict] Court of Eastern Missoury, etc.—to see herself as a cook, but it seems that she is not affected by this inconvenience, for as a woman of spirit and resignation, she is very kind and very attentive with the persons whom she receives. She is said to be a very good musician on the harp and the piano. She teaches music to her daughter.¹²²

Saturday [September] 10

Wrote to my sister informing her of the news that I have received from my children, etc., in answer to hers of August. Answered also little Alphonse. At 4:00 o'clock I learn that the widow, Madam St. Vrain, the mother, has been in town for two or three days, but she did not have me informed, and will leave again without seeing me. So be it!

Sunday [September] 11

Mr. Le Duc came to dine with us. Afterwards we went into town. I went to the home of Madam La Beaume to see there Madam St. Vrain, who is in bed with the fever. She expects to spend a week here. I got warm going to town, and all the week had been cold and rainy.

Monday [September] 12

Rain and warm all day.

Gustave Soulard has just received a letter from his mother from Galena of the [blank in ms.] informing them of the happy delivery of a big boy to her daughter-in-law, Madam G[aston] S[ou]l[ar]d; and she also mentions a storm from the [blank in ms.] from which a thunderbolt fell into their house (dwelling that G[aston] S[oulard] built, in which he proposes to continue to remain with his family), entering by the pipe of a Franklin

¹²² Billon (Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 304) mentioned only one daughter of the Lawless family and said that she died when seventeen or eighteen years old.

[stove] which it broke into pieces, broke several panes of glass and goblets, set fire to the soot of the said pipe, and after the explosion, it was seen that they had all got off with a good fright. Madam Soulard, her daughter-in-law, her six girls, a Madam Morison, and an old servant have not been hurt in the least. She requests of Gaston, who at this time is in Lincol [Lincoln] county about his lands, 123 upon his return here that he not leave again for his home without bringing a lightning-conductor. Madam Soulard, in telling me many nice things for herself and her family, says that, if her daughter-in-law continues to do as well, she will not wait for the return of Gaston to come back to her home.

They have just told us that L[ouis] Philippe, King of the French, was assassinated on the July Days' festivity.¹²⁴ That is the rumor which is current in town today. I trust that this will be confirmed.¹²⁵ There are no details, and it is reported in a newspaper by hearsay!

Tuesday [September] 13 Wednesday [September] 14

The terrible news of the assassination of Louis Philippe is unfortunately confirmed by the mail arrived yesterday from New Yorck and detailed today the thirteenth, in the Missoury Gazette. Coming out of the palace to go to the Tuileries, he was hit by a bullet, which pierced his right arm, and entered between his ribs and pierced his lungs. He survived the wound only an hour and several minutes. He died with calm and resignation saying: "I hope that my son will know how to maintain order in France, and that my death will not be the cause of a revolution"—and asked for the Queen. When the poor unfortunate one arrived, he spoke no more. He died! It seems that the assassin, in addition to his skill, was quick enough not to be caught. This horrible blow took place on the twenty-ninth of July without marked riot,

¹²³ On 2 February 1816, 1600 arpents located sixty-two miles north of St. Louis were confirmed to James Gaston Soulard under grant of Delassus, 20 October 1799. These lands were located in St. Charles (now Lincoln) County, Missouri (American State Papers, Public Lands, II, 534; III, 332).

¹³⁴ An unsuccessful attempt on the life of Louis Philippe was made by Louis Alibeau on 26 June 1836; notices of it can be found in Niles' Weekly Register, vol. L. 377 (6 August) and 396-397 (18 August); some comment about this appeared in the Missouri Republican on 18 August. The hoax assassination story seems to have burst on St. Louis in the Commercial Bulletin of 12 September 1838. By Missoury Gazette Delassus undoubtedly means Missouri Republican, for that had been one of its earlier names. In the files available to me I do not find a story until the 15th when the Republican laughs heartily at the Bulletin for having been taken in, but there is reason to believe that the Republican was quite as credulous. Other stories appeared in the Bulletin of 13th and 14th before its acknowledgment of error on the 15th.

¹²⁵ Delassus' verb was espere, but it is obvious that he meant such a report required confirmation.

and on the thirtieth Paris seemed quiet enough by the dispositions I suppose well taken by Marshal Clausel, named Generalin-Chief. Now one must await the results. What will they be?

Thursday [September] 15

Yesterday and today rain. I cannot go out. This evening, Mr. Ninian Lean [Lane], 126 brother of Madam Gustave, returns from town—astonishing and unbelievable thing—with the news that the crime, reported and detailed yesterday in the newspaprs here, is entirely false. It seems that it is a composition made in St. Louis which was sent to Louisville, and from there dispatched here by mail as coming from New York, and done, one says, to prove that one can make the public believe anything that one wishes, even while supporting the news with impossible facts, such as the name of the boat which had brought the news coming from England-it has been sunk for a year-as well as other improbabilities which mark the news as being forged, but which did not prevent its generally being accepted as true, especially after the repeated previous attempts made against the life of Philippe. 127

Friday [September] 16

Pretty weather, but very warm.

I went to town this morning to pay a visit to Monseigneur the Bishop, who received Mr. Le Duc and me with a praiseworthy simplicity. We talked for nearly a half hour, and the conversation led to different subjects of contemporary events, and especially to the false, unbelievable news of the assassination of Philippe.

¹²⁶ Ninian E. Lane, born Ste. Genevieve, 25 February 1814, was the son of Dr. Harvey Lane and Juliana Hamtramck. He was named for Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois who had married a sister of Harvey and Hardage Lane. See note 34.

Lane and Juliana Hamtramck. He was named for Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois who had married a sister of Harvey and Hardage Lane. See note 34.

137 Jay Cooke, then fifteen years old, was in St. Louis during this time. On 17 January 1837 he wrote to his brother Pitt an explanation of this hoax: ". . I have found out the origin of the hoax of the death of Louis Philippe which you know we received last summer from Galena. There are in this city several secret societies and one in particular, "The Cabites." This society the public know nothing about and it is not thought of or even spoken about except when a notice of the meetings appears in the papers as follows: "The cabites will meet at the wigwam or the upper or lower cave on the 16th of the 27th moon from the date of their formation.' Well, about last June a letter appeared in the post office for the editors of the Missouri Republican purporting to be an express from Cincinnati, containing the most minute particulars of the death of Louis Philippe. The editor of the Republican immediately got up an extra and distributed it all over the city, and sent a number to every steamboat bound up the Missouri, Mississippi, and Illinois Rivers and down the Mississippi and all through the back country. The hoax was so complete that all the French tied crepe to the handles of their door knockers and went about in mourning, and shut up all the shops and places of amusement. Mass was said in the Catholic church and a very pompous procession formed to escort the effigy of their late King to its final resting place. The hoax was not discovered until three days had elapsed and thus it was that the Galena Gazette obtained the direful news. It is very clear that the cabites formed this scheme for their amusement. They have frequently tried to find out who are the members of this society but without success" (Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke [2 vols., Philadelphia, 1907], I, 36). It is clear that young Cooke was not in St. Louis when the hoax was perpetrated, but reaching t

He confessed to us having received it as true, but that at night he had begun to have doubts about the improbabilities which he found there, but that he had not paid any attention to the boat. At last he is certain, thanks to God, that it is false. It is, one says, a commercial trick; be that as it may be, but it is a very bad joke, and very malicious or atrocious!

I went to see Madam St. Vrain, my sister-in-law, at the home of her sister, Madam La Beaume. She is in bed, very weak from a bile upset, and she does not wish to take a purgative. I dined there where I saw the whole family.

Saturday [September] 17

Fine weather.

I went to town after dinner to see the widow, Madam St. Vrain, who is still sick at the home of her sister, Madam La Beaume. She neither wishes to call the doctor, nor do anything, nor take anything! Afterwards, I went to the home of Mr. Le Duc, who told me of having placed finally Mr. Gibson's note in the hands of a lawyer, in view of the fact that he no longer makes an appearance in spite of his fine promises; and according to information and his conduct, he does not have much left. It seems likely that all the merchandise that he got from Auguste will be auctioned upon arriving here. He ought to receive some horses. If it is true that he receives them and that they arrive, the lawyer will have them seized. I believe that this is the only recourse to have against him or his person. Mr. Condé Benoit told Mr. Le Duc at the time that he would not take his [Gibson's] note at ninety per cent discount. Mr. Austain [Austin] 128 associate of Mr. Savage, discounter, had told Le Duc that he would inform Gibson that he was waiting for him when he would be here. After more than fifteen days he has not appeared, and Austain [Austin] told Le Duc that he did not appear and that he was no longer expecting him. The fact is that he also owes Austain [Austin]. which decided us to have him prosecuted. I fear that we are in it for the expenses. He is a scoundrel and a regular drunkard, etc.

¹³⁸ William Austin lived at No. 66 North Fifth Street. William H. Savage died at Redhook, New York, 16 December 1838, aged sixty-five years; he was a native of Massachusetts, served thirteen years as Amrican Consul at Jamaica, and had been a resident of St. Louis for twenty years (St. Louis Missouri Saturday News, 5 January 1839). According to W. G. Lyford (The Western Address Directory . . for the year 1837, 401, 405) Savage and Austin, auctioneers, sold \$650,000 worth of real estate and \$300,000 worth of merchantse in 1836. Their card in the Directory announced them as "auctioneers and commission merchants" and declared that they attended "to the sales of Furniture, Houses, Lands, Vessels, Dry Goods, Hardware, Groceries, Crockery Ware, Books, Maps, Prints, Paintings, and all Real and Personal Property, generally."

Sunday [September] 18

Rain and warm, did not go out.

They sent for Mr. Le Duc to dine. After dinner, I had a visit from my nephew, Leon Delassus, who comes from Ste. Genevieve. He is a handsome young man, well reared, presenting himself very well. He took the position of saddler, but he does not practice it at this time; he is working at the mine extracting lead, which is more lucrative for him. We talked a long time of all his family. He informs me of his mother's desire that I go to see her. They have returned to live—that is to say, his mother, his step-father, and their children by the last marriageon the creek St. Cloux until the end of this autum, and told me that his step-father is going to establish himself still lower down on the banks of the Missisipy. He has leased the plantation on the river Au Vases, and will lease also the said St. Cloux. He told me that his sister Odille, the widow L Vallé, is actually a nun under the name of Sister Cathérine. He expects to come tomorrow to dine with us, Gustave having invited him. 129

Monday [September] 19

Rain and cold.

Yesterday G[aston] S[oulard] returned from his land in Lincol [Lincoln] county. He made arrangements to have it surveyed, having recognized the principal landmarks. He found many inhabitants established upon it, but who do not refuse to enter into arrangements with him. If they are reasonable, this is what he intends to do rather than have lawsuits. He met the agent of Mr. Ar[end] Rutgers, who had gone to sell his square mile at Dordaine near the River Au Cuivre. 130 He succeeded only in very small part. All the inhabitants who are on it have agreed not to pay more than \$1.25. There are a few who offered more,

¹²⁹ Leon Delassus, born 1810 and died 1862, was the son of Charles Delassus' youngest brother Camille (who died in 1812) and Mathilde Villars (who died in 1838). Leon married Mary Louise Elliott (1818-1873) of Ste. Genevieve on 19 September 1837. His sister Odille, the oldest of Camille's four children, was born in 1804, married on 5 June 1822 Silvestre S. Pratte (eldest son of General Bernard Pratte) who died in 1828 as reported in Pattie's narrative. She married second Louis Vallé of Ste. Genevieve who died 24 September 1833. She died in 1864 without children by either husband. Madame Camille Delassus (who was the daughter of Louis Dubreuil Villars and Marie Louise Vallé) married secondly Joseph Beauvais, son of Vital Beauvais, on 6 April 1818. (Genealogical Notes, Delassus Papers, Missouri Historical Society.)

¹³⁰ For Dordaine read Dardenne. Dardenne Creek (in St. Charles County, Missouri) enters the Mississippi River at Portage des Sioux. Cuivre River (from Moscow Mills, shortly below Troy, Missouri) flows between Lincoln and St. Charles counties to enter the Mississippi about ten or twelve miles above Portage des Sioux.

Rutgers' concession of 7056 arpents granted by Trudeau 14 April 1799 and confirmed by act of Congress 12 April 1814 lay in this area. Consult American State Papers, Public Lands, II, 498; III, 332.

so that he withdrew the whole from sale. That is expense and time lost. It is said that even after these lands have been confirmed there are some who are still establishing themselves thereon by making their entries at the bureau whose agents have the stupidity or the knavery to receive them. All these details are not satisfactory for me, if I do not find a reasonable purchaser for mine.

Tuesday [September] 20

Weather cloudly and cold.

Last night Gaston S[oulard], upon entering, gave me a letter from my son from Paris dated the first of July and one from my sister from New Orleans dated the thirtieth of August. The two have been addressed to me by Mr. T. Montreuil, who complains that Auguste has not yet written to him and who asks me how I am getting along with Gibson.¹³¹

Leon Lassus did not come to dine yesterday because he had a little fever and because the weather was very bad. He is coming to see me this morning. It seems that he made the trip from the mine here purposely to invite me on behalf of his mother and family to go to see them. I could not promise him to go there. I fear the route from Ste. Genevieve to St. Cloux Creek since I no longer ride horseback.

Wednesday [September] 21

Warm, rain.

Did not go out. Wrote to Auguste by way of New York and to his wife. The letter will arrive perhaps after his departure, not being able to leave from New York for Le Harve sooner that October 8.

[Thursday and Friday, September] 22 and 23

Rain, did not go out.

On the twenty-first received a letter from my sister. All are well. She informs me of the assassinations committed at New Orleans, etc.

¹⁸¹ Writing from Paris on 1 July Auguste said enthusiastically: "je crois qu'on ne peut pas être malade à Paris; ma foi à te dire franchement j'aime beaucoup Paris." In the Delassus Papers at the Missouri Historical Society this letter from Montreuil has been preserved; writing from New Orleans on the 31 July he said in part "voici une autre lettre d'Auguste . . . je vous remets aussi une lettre de Mme Derbigny. Je pens qu'Auguste s'amuse trop a Paris pour avoir le tems de m'ecrire je n'ai aucune nouvelle de lui. . . ." Charles Delassus must have passed this complaint on to Auguste when he wrote next on 21 September, for when the son wrote on 15 November 1836, acknowledging Charles' letter of 21 September, he declared that Théodule should have had several letters from Europe.

Diary of Charles de Hault de Lassus

[Saturday, September] 24

Partly cloudy and warm.

I answered my sister and informed her of Auguste's letter from Paris.

Sunday [September] 25

Fine weather.

Yesterday in the night about midnight I was awakened because of my servant Augustin, who was brought back in a cart, wounded in the right arm from the blow of a knife, in a weakened condition from the quantity of blood that he had lost. It is the result of a scrap at a dance for colored people near here. I do not know how to praise enough the care and attention of the whole Soulard family. Gustave rode at once to get the Doctor M Cabe, 132 who probed the wound for nearly three inches. He was uncertain whether the artery had been touched, and he ordered that one watch over him during the night in case the blood began to gush out, but he spent a quiet night; and Madam Gustave had the extreme kindness to have him placed in a little room near her room where Mr. Ninian Lean [Lane] had the good-nature to watch over him in turn with Gustave. This morning the doctor dressed it and says that he sees nothing dangerous, but care, a diet, water, and softening applications are necessary. The arm is very swollen. He was at the dance without permission, but previously on the other Saturdays he had asked my permission. In spite of his weakness and the pain of his wound, he cried about not having asked my permission, while asking my pardon.

Monday [September] 26

Cloudy, cold, damp.

This morning Augustin is better. The doctor is more assured that the artery was not punctured. He is still very weak; the doctor holds him to a strict diet in order to avoid inflammation. He gives Augustin three pills to keep his bowels open. I went to town this morning. Did not find Mr. Le Duc. I went to see Madam St. Vrain, who is improving. I counted on doing several errands

¹³² Dr. Edward H. McCabe, born in Pennsylvania in 1801, came to St. Louis in 1833; he continued to practice medicine until 1849 and died in 1854. For a time he was associated with Dr. Lewis F. Lane and later with Dr. Hardage Lane. Keemle (St. Louis Directory for 1836-7) listed the office of Drs. Lane & M'Cabe at 40 North First Street. On the medical faculty of St. Louis University (organized in 1836) McCabe was professor of materia medica and Hardage Lane of obstetrics and diseases of women and children. Lane was then vice-president of the Medical Society of Missouri which had been organized at St. Louis 7 January 1836. Consult also Scharf, History of St. Louis, II, 1524.

on this visit. The rain began, and I was caught—in a bad humor, returning immediately on foot to the Soulard home, to tell the truth with intention of returning to dine with G[aston] S[oulard], who leaves tonight to rejoin his family at Galena and to send back to us his mother, whom I wish to see indeed before my departure.

Tuesday [September] 27

Fine weather and cool.

Augustin continues to improve, but he [the doctor] believes that the artery has been touched to judge by the little finger on the right hand which is unfeeling, which he says is from a nerve which is near the artery. Madam St. Vrian is well.

Wednesday [September] 28

Fine weather, cool.

Augustin continues to improve. He got up. The doctor still suspects that the artery was touched a little. Mr. Le Duc came to dinner, and we went walking afterwards. We are making no progress—no purchasers. We have had [prospective?] buyers for the square mile. [Should we]¹³³ try a public sale? No news from Acheley [Ashley]. We have not yet taken any measures for my 30,000 arpents. It is a beautiful and good land, but there are many people on it, and in addition a property of a neighbor surrounds it. It is from the Delor Sarpy succession ordered by Mr. Burthe.¹³⁴

Thursday [September] 29

Fine weather, cool.

Augustin is well.¹³⁵ I regard him as recovered. Gaston S[oulard], not having been able to leave Monday because of the bad weather and the steamboat being full, leaves today.

Friday [September] 30

Fine weather, warm.

Wrote to my sister about Augustin's mishap and that I shall not leave at the end of the month.

¹³³ Meaning of the original conjectural in these two bracketed passages.

134 Silvestre Delor Sarpy, one of five sons of Charles Sarpy and Susanne Trenty to come to Louisiana, was born in France, spent some years at St. Louis, and returned to New Orleans to marry and die there in 1799. His two daughters married brothers named Burthe, from Paris (Billon, Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish Dominations, 441).

135 On 14 October Leduc paid to Drs. Lane and McCabe, on account of Delassus, \$15 for the treatment of Augustin (Johnson Collection, Delassus Papers).

Saturday, October 1

Fine weather, warm.

Continued my letter to my sister. Sending her some pears, etc., consigned to T. Montreuil. Informing her not to receive Michel at her home, having cautioned T. M[ontreuil] that if he comes ashore sick to have him taken to the hospital, and if well, to prison on bread and water until my return, in view of his continued drunkenness—doing nothing more on board than to get intoxicated and at this time overcome from a fall into the hold of the boat while drunk. Wrote a second letter to my sister to inform her that she has a letter and two cases of pears placed in care of the captain or clerk consigned to Montreuil, etc. In the afternoon wished to go to town. Returned after going half-way because of a threatening storm.

Sunday, October 2

Fine weather cool.

It rained almost all night. Since last night at 7:00 o'clock the wind has been from the West.

Mr. Le Duc came to dine with us. We went walking after dinner to see Madam St. Vrain at the home of Madam La Beaume, who is convalescent, but still weak, not being able to come down from her room. We talked about the plight of our lands with Le Duc. He is as interested as I in the 30,000 arpents on the Salt River.¹³⁷ It would be good that he, as a matter of fact, speaking English go to see it in order to confer with the inhabitants who are on the land, but he feels loath to do so in view of his age and his occupations here. Finally we are agreed, if a person for whom we are waiting does not come forward to bring matters to a close by becoming responsible for the whole by the middle of October, to place the list in the hands of a trustworthy broker, who already made an offer to me to assume the responsibility for placing them, and to charge me only a reasonable interest of from one to two per cent for his trouble and the proceedings.

Monday [October] 3

Fine weather, but very cool West wind.

This morning on going out from my room, I was surprised to see Madam Lane, mother of Madam Gustave S[oulard], who

¹³⁶ It becomes clear later in the diary that Michel is another slave belonging to Delassus.
137 This grant by Trudeau dated 10 February 1798 was located on the Salt River in Pike County, Missouri, and was among the Delassus lands confirmed in July 1836.

had arrived very early with her daughter of ten to eleven years and a niece of about fifteen years, coming from Ste. Genevieve, probably to spend the winter here.¹³⁸

Tuesday [October] 4

Fine weather, cold.

It froze hard last night. Nothing interesting.

Wednesday [October] 5

Weather overcast, hard frost in the night.

Dined with Mr. and Mrs. McGil[1] by invitation. Mr. McGil[1] a fine, upright businessman—associate of Mr. von Pool [von Phul]. A very reserved man of very plain manners, a good husband and good father. Madam, the daughter of Mr. Albert Tison, of excellent qualities, very pleasant doing very well the honors in her home. At dessert, recalling the friendship that her father has for me, she proposed to drink to the health of the widow, Madam Derbigny. Although not having the pleasure of knowing her, she recalled that her father had often spoken of her with the greatest veneration, and she begged me to present her her respects, etc. It is she who has her two eldest—very intelligent deaf and mute, whom she took some time ago, I believe, to the establishment of this type in Philadelphia. She has a little boy and a little girl, who are charming. They have received her three grown sisters into their home since the death of mother and father, two of whom are very beautiful persons. The third, also a beautiful woman, is unfortunately very disfigured by a deformed mouth. I believe that Mr. McGil[l] is responsible for the succession of the deceased mother and father. There are also two brothers, grown men, who have their lodging at the home of McGil[1].139

Thursday October 6

Rain and cold.

Towards nine o'clock Mr. P. Chouteau, the younger, came to inform me that General Acheley [Ashley] was here, foreseeing many difficulties both for the surveying and difficulties, etc., etc.

¹⁸⁸ Madame Lane, mother Madame Gustave Soulard, was Juliana, daughter of Colonel John F. Hamtramck (1757-1803). She married Dr. Harvey Lane (see note 34). Their younger daughter Josephine married Jules Chenié. Mrs. Lane's sisters married Captain Joseph Cross and Captain Tomas J. Harrison; her husband's sister married Ninian Edwards of Illinois; Dr. Harvey Lane had several brothers: to whom this niece belonged I am not able to determine.

139 See note 102.

I assumed that it was for selling. He, Acheley [Ashley], does not want to sell; Mr. P. Ch[outeau] does not seem anxious about it, but it is I who wish to sell. It was proposed that I sell my part of the eleven thousand and some arpents. I got into the carriage with Cadet Ch[outeau], and we went at once to the home of Mr. Le Duc, not wishing to conclude anything without consulting him. Added to my desire, he is of the opinion that I should sell, and we closed for my 11,250 arpents for \$20,000, of which one-half payable in sixty days and the rest in [blank in ms.]

If there is some defect in the map, so much the better for them, but I consider myself fortunate at this price to see myself rid of the surveying, government sales, lawsuits, and especially of the bad faith of [blank in ms.] etc. And if I can place all my land at this price, I shall take it. So be it!

Friday [October] 7

Fog until eleven o'clock.

I went this afternoon to see Mr. Le Duc, who told me that everything was concluded and that he held as pledge the bills payable to order for the \$20,000. And Mr. Cadet sold his part of 11,250 arpents also for \$20,000, which amounts to almost the same as mine, the terms of payment being much longer. It is General Acheley [Ashley] who has bought it all so that he now possesses this fine land, which will yield him much. It is 30,000 arpents in area. A good profit is coming to him, and may God grant that he pay us well. He is said to be trustworthy and rich. So be it!

Saturday [October] 8

Weather overcast and damp.

The widow, Madam Lane, her daughter, and her niece, expect to leave tomorrow to return to their home. For the few days that they have been here, the have seemed to me to be very good persons, quite unaffected and very decent. She is the mother-in-law of Gustave; and the brother-in-law¹⁴⁰ expects to leave this afternoon for Galena to try to do something. He is a midshipman who got out of the service after having served in a campaign in Europe.

¹⁴⁰ Ninian Lane.

One knows too well why he has returned to home of his kin. He is very robust, very young, possessing nothing in the world, I believe, except much pride and laziness, etc. He drinks, eats, and sleeps a lot. I wish that he may succeed in deciding to go to work and that, where he is going, he will not have to be supported by Gaston Soulard, as he is here at Gustave's.

Sunday [October] 9

Fine weather, cool.

Mr. Ninian Lane left this morning for Galena. Mr. Le Duc came to dine. Afterwards, we went walking and paid a visit to Madam Le Divinie,¹⁴¹ who delivered to me two letters: one from Mr. T. Montreuil containing two from my son in Paris dated the twenty-sixth of July, and one from my sister from New Orleans. It is a fine day for me, having the satisfaction of knowing that all my children, my sister, and family are well.

Monday [October] 10

There is a heavy frost, but the weather is pretty this morning. I went walking into town and to the home of Madam La Beaume. Félicité¹⁴² is much better. Found Mr. Le Duc tonight, and while chatting went with him as far as the bridge. Answered Mr. T. M[ontreuil], acknowledging receipt etc., and my sister by the steamboat *Oceana*, which expects to leave tomorrow.

Tuesday [October] 11

Heavy frost and very cool this morning.

The mother of Madame Gustave, Madam Lane, her daughter, and her niece left this morning on the steamboat *Oceana* for their home at Ste. Genevieve. With the departure of Mr. N. Lane last Sunday, these departures make an acute void especially for Madam Gustave, whose mother and all are very good persons. I went to town and dined with Madam La Beaume and her family. Madam St. Vrian dined in her room. After dinner I went to see these gentlemen at their store, where I found Theodore La Beaume, whom I had not seen since my arrival. He has a decidedly manly look with keen and penetrating eyes. These two La Beaume

142 Madame St. Vrain.

¹⁴¹ So the diary seems to read, but I cannot identify her.

brothers enjoy an excellent reputation here. Afterwards I rejoined Mr. Le Duc. We went walking, and in order to avoid a bad affair, we agreed that we would see each other tomorrow and conclude a recording which he believes necessary and which I believe useless.

Wednesday [October] 12

Weather cold and cloudy.

I went to town. In the afternoon we concluded that it was up to me to draw up the sales for the recorder's office, in order to avoid a bad financial affair through the bad faith of my creditors, Bu Di Li etc., in short the heirs of L' [blank in ms.]. 144 Sent a bill of exchange to Messrs. A. Delassus and Montreuil for \$[blank in ms.] for the note of Mr. W. Gibson, asking that he acknowledge receipt at once and if it will be paid or protested.

Thursday [October] 13

Rain and Cold.

Went to town after dinner to the home of Mr. Le Duc to sign the sales that I am making to him of all my confirmed lands in order that he may be better able to sell them at his leisure on my account and his by virtue of the sum that I owe him.

Friday [October] 14

Fine weather cold.

After breakfast about 10:00 o'clock the widow, Madame Soulard finally arrived. With what pleasure and satisfaction I saw again and embraced this old and respectable friend, whom I have regarded for a long time as a second sister. After we talked of her trip and her arrival and of all the family of her son, etc., I got into the carriage with Madam Gustave and her husband, and we went to see the horse race. We arrived late, but it did not seem interesting to me. I do not know if it was

¹⁴³ At this time Louis Alexandre LaBeuame, Theodore LaBeaume, and Jonas Newman, their brother-in-law, were partners in Theodore LaBaume and Company, Commission and Forwarding Merchants. See note 78. Consult also Scharf, History of St. Louis, I, 647, n. 2; R. Edwards and M. Hopewell, Great West and Her Commercial Metropolis (St. Louis, 1860), 463-464.

¹⁴⁴ These abbreviations, I suppose, are for Brazeau, Duchouquette, Lami. "The heirs of L'....." is more uncertain: later there is reference to a man named L'Esperance, who was a Brazeau heir. Unfortunately the Probate File on Delassus in St. Louis contains merely a list of lands and no probate file for him could be found in New Orleans in March 1946. Nor do the Delassus Papers at the Missouri Historical Society help. See notes 87 and 101.

¹⁴⁵ This is Madame Antoine Soulard, née Julie Cerré (born 1775, married 1795, died 1845).

because it was getting cold, but on returning I found this location superb, and the country increasing in proportion with what I have seen up to now. We came back for dinner at 2:00 o'clock. After dinner, I went to town in the carriage with Gustave in order to finish signing the sales of yesterday and to have them recorded. Returned by walking with Mr. Le Duc. It seems that several persons are beginning to wish to buy my lands. I leave the handling of this to Mr. Le Duc with confidence and from necessity, but I fear that we shall have difficulties with the fifth of Lawyer Lawles[s], which will delay us in our sales, etc.¹⁴⁶

Saturday [October] 15

Rain and cold.

Did not go out, but I spent a pleasant day with my good and respectable friend, Madam Soulard, who took a great interest in knowing the news of all my family and I of hers, having talked all day and last night with her family by the fireside. She brought with her one of the daughters of Madam G[aston] S[oulard], from eight to nine years old named Ysabelle, a pretty child, and an orphaned niece of Madam G[as]ton S[oulard], about the same age and as pretty; she is named Julie.¹⁴⁷

Sunday [October] 16

Cloudy weather, cold.

Spent the day at home with the S[oulard] family.

Monday [October] 17

Froze hard during the night. Weather rather pretty, but cold.

After dinner I went to town to see Madam St. Vrain, who is well. I went to the home of Mr. Le Duc, who has been indisposed since Sunday. I found him in a bad humor against Mr. E. L. L[awless], who is now placing obstacles in our way, wishing his fifth given only at very high prices, or else wait. It will be necessary that we come to a conclusion nonetheless. Because for his one-fifth, as honorarium, he should not prevent the owner

¹⁴⁶ Copies of the agreements referred to are not to be found among the Delassus Papers accessible to me.

¹⁴⁷ For Isabel see note 32. Julia was the daughter of Mrs. Gaston's brother Samuel W. Hunt (1799-1829) who in 1818 married Julia Herrick of Plattsburg, New York (Turner, The Chouteau Family, 102).

from acting for the four others that are left to him as will seem best to him. Le Duc expects to see him tomorrow in order to try to conclude with him definitively.

Tuesday [October] 18

Rain and very cold. Did not go out.

Received a letter from Mr. T. Montreuil from New Orleans, dated the seventh of October, with one from my son from Paris dated August 6; and one from my daughter-in-law, dated the same day in July; and one from my sister from New Orleans, dated the sixth of October.

Wednesday [October] 19

Rain, but not so cold as yesterday.

Did not go out. Rain and snow.

Thursday [October] 20

Froze hard all night.

Fine weather, cold. In the shade very heavy frost.

Friday [October] 21

Froze hard, but fine weather.

Rode to town to Le Duc's house. Our affairs still at same point with Lawles[s] for his fifth.

Saturday [October] 22

Froze last night.

Today the weather is milder. Walked to town. At Mr. Tesson's bought a pound of snuff. 148

Sunday [October] 23

Weather cloudy, but quite mild.

Dr. Lane has returned with his wife and daughter. He dined here with Mr. Le Duc. Towards night I saw Mr. Le Duc home. We talked about the sale of our lands with all the frankness

¹⁴⁸ Michael Tesson was born on the island of Santo Domingo; his family was among those refugees who went first to Philadelphia and then to St. Louis. On 11 February 1811 at St. Louis he married Adelaide Barrousel. François Tesson (who died in 1839) was his brother as well as his partner (Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 258-259). Keemle (St. Louis Directory for 1836-7) located the dry goods store of M. and F. Tesson and Company at 10 South First Street.

possible, but we are not of the same opinion about the price for which to let them go. He seems inclined to sell the 30,000 on the Salt River at the congressional price in view of the fact that there are obstacles. Besides the tracts sold by congress, there is a property which enroaches upon it, which will oblige us to take another elsewhere, or for a great part of it, and that then we shall hardly have any chance whatsoever to get \$1.25 for it. I am of the opinion that we should keep what remains to us from what is not sold or has no obstacles, in view of the fact that it is recognized as a very good property and that it is better to wait than to let it go at \$1.25. I find no reason which places it lower than mine sold to Acheley [Ashley]. Moreover, at this price that removes me too far from the idea that I have formed, and which is not unreasonable, of the price that I wish to have for the whole. Finally while walking, we agreed to reflect and to do nothing more now than to rid ourselves of Messrs. E. L. Lawles[s] and Strotard [Strother] by satisfying them for their fifth, being an obstacle to every kind of operation on our part. Dr. Lane, who, I was told, wished to buy for constituents, did not speak to me at all about land; only at the table in talking with Le Duc he said that Acheley [Ashley] had given a very good price for it, and probably he found it too high to make proposals to me.

Monday [October] 24

Rain all night. Weather mild and cloudy, and rain all day. Did not go out.

Tuesday [October] 25

Rain all night, and weather cold and damp. The roads very bad for going to town in a carriage, and too much mud for me.

Wednesday [October] 26

Weather cloudy, cold, and damp.

Since Sunday no one has gone out. We spend our time agreeably in talking. There is only Gustave whom no kind of weather stops, his business outside demanding him. The rain, the mud—he receives all that in singing and galloping. Emigration increases every day from other countries to this state. The city is as full as an egg. The new-arrivals no longer know where to alight; the inns, boarding-houses, and private persons who receive

boarders—there is no more room any where.¹⁴⁹ The Republican Gazette reported day before yesterday that in the space of [blank in ms.] there had arrived in this port [blank in ms.] persons.¹⁵⁰

Thursday [October 27] and Friday [October] 28 Fine weather.

I went during these two days to Le Duc's house. It seems that several persons have come forward to buy lands, and being informed of the prices and conditions, some wish to go see them first; others wish guaranties that they are surveyed and with the patent. Le D[uc] has not yet concluded with Messrs. Lawles[s] and Stroddart [Strother]. These gentlemen are an obstacle to my being able to conclude my sales in toto. One must hope that he will conclude with them for their fifth next week. But he is of the opinion, and he desires, that I remain here through next month, before we are able to bring matters to a close—perhaps even for the winter—to which I answered him absolutely no.

Saturday [October] 29

Fine weather, cold.

I went walking with Gustave all afternoon on their land opposite their home, which has just been confirmed—at the end of the other side, west of the Carondelet road.¹⁵¹ And they are in difficulty now with Mr. Cadet Chouteau, père, over the tract of this land on the south side. They cannot yet know how that

¹⁴⁹ A census of St. Louis, city and suburbs, made in October 1836, showed a population of 10,486, and for the entire county 19,569, amounting to about a forty percent increase in the last six years (Missouri Republican, 29 November 1836). Two quotations from the press will give some idea of conditions: "We have made some inquiry, and find that upwards of two hundred houses are now building in the city. They are started in every direction, and it is probable that another hundred will be put up during the season, if contracts can be made for them. One or two Churches are to be erected; a splendid Theatre is under way, and a Female Seminary is to be commenced. Many of the buildings will be handsomely furnished for stores and extensive warehouses; and it is hoped, that before anther year passes away, we shall be able to furnish houses for the numerous business men who are desirous of making establishments here. . . ." (Missouri Republican, 4 June 1836). Five months later: "We observed that during the past season, several hundred new houses had been erected, but they were totally unable to supply the demand; that a vast addition has been made to the number of steam boats that ply its trade, but that they are still insufficient for the purposes of the increased commerce of the country. . ." (St. Charles, Missouri, Clarion as quoted in the Missouri Republican 9 November 1836).

^{150 &}quot;It is a moderate estimate to say, that three thousand perons arrived at this port between Friday afternoon and Sunday morning last" (Missouri Republican, Monday, 24 October 1836).

¹⁸¹ On 7 August 1798 Antoine Soulard petitioned Trudeau for a tract of vacant land about 14 arpents by 15 arpents in depth opposite to the land held by Cerré and south of the mill creek; according to the survey made 20 January 1800 this lay west of the Carondelet road, It was confirmed 8 November 1833 (24th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 59, pp. 195-198). It is difficult to say whether Delassus refers to the land just described or to a grant by Trudeau, 20 April 1796, of 2,000 arpents, which had been declared invalid by the United States District Court, a decision which was now reversed by the United States Supreme Court in its June Term, 1836 (24th Congress, 1st Session, Ho. Reps. Doc. No. 148, pp. 18-19).

will be concluded. All that I see is that I fear that there are going to be infinite lawsuits for these lands among the inhabitants, which will be very long. The lawyers will make good harvests. Gustave told me of having informed Dr. Lane to speak to Mr. Le Duc, and, a little afterwards, he told me that he had just spoken to him. Tomorrow, Sunday, Le Duc will come to dine here. I should know the result of their conference.

Sunday [October] 30

Fine weather, cold.

Judge Le Duc came to dine and told me that Dr. Lane has asked of him an extremely detailed statement and that he would send it to New York to his constituents, etc. But as that is only conjectural and gives us no certainty of selling, and that it would even be harmful perhaps to our interests to give such a document with prices, we agreed to continue to follow our plan.

Monday [October] 31

Fine weather, cold.

It froze in the night. Saw Mr. Le Duc. Things in the same state.

Tuesday, November 1

Fine weather, cold. It froze during the night.

Wednesday [November] 2 Thursday [November] 3 Fine weather, cold. Froze in the night.

Friday [November] 4

Weather overcast, cold, damp.

Yesterday received a letter from Mr. T. Mont[reui] 1—one from my son in Paris enclosed, number seven, dated August 14. He expects to leave for Marselle [Marseille] on the eighteenth, etc.¹⁵² It is astonishing that I did not have a letter from my sister by the Collel [Collier]. This silence worries me.

¹⁸³ Auguste was still in Paris a month later, according to his letters in the Delassus Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

Saturday [November] 5 and Sunday [November] 6 Good weather.

[Monday, November] 7

Mr. René Trudeau, son of Mr. Zenon Trudeau—my predecessor in command of upper Louisiana under the Spanish government—arrived last night.¹⁵³ It is here at Madame Soulard's where he is received as the son of an old friend, who rendered a great service to her family and mine upon their arrival in this country here.

Tuesday [November] 8

Weather overcast and cold, damp.

Mr. René Trudeau spent the day here and went with me to pay a visit to the widow, Madam Auguste Chouteau, where he was received as at Madam Soulard's. He is looking for an estate that he says is a square mile in size, but he does not know where or how he can find it. Madam Soulard turned over to him the papers of Mr. Zenon Trudeau, his father, whose affairs her husband had been entrusted with.

Wednesday [November] 9

Rain and cold all day. Did not go out.

Thursday [November] 10

Rain all night. Weather mild and damp. The rain continues.

Friday [November] 11

Ditto.

Saturday [November] 12

Ditto.

Weather mild, but quite pretty. The roads impassable for going to town. Mr. René Trudeau came to dine, and he leaves tomorrow on the G. Collel [George Collier]. He promised me to go visit my sister.

¹³³ René Trudeau was the eldest son of Zenon Trudeau (lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, 1792-1799) and of Eulalie de Lassize. He married Adelma, daughter of Pierre Sauvé of Louisiana, and died in 1846. René's elder son was James de Berty Trudeau who passed through St. Louis in 1840 on his way to a trip in the Osage country (McDermott and Salvan, Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies, Norman, 1940).

Sunday [November] 13

Raw weather, cold. Threatening snow. Mr. Le Duc came to dine; this last week nothing was done because of the bad weather. Here we are in the middle of November, and Lawles[s] is stopping us cold for his fifth. Let us have patience.

Monday [November] 14
Fine weather, cold. There is a heavy frost.

Tuesday [November] 15 Fine weather, cold, froze hard.

Wednesday [November] 16

Pretty weather, cold, heavy frost, and ice.

We all went to dine at the home of Madam Saugrain. Mr. Le Duc was invited there, but did not come, being occupied as judge of the Court of Claims, which delays me still, his time being occupied for as long as this session will last.

Thursday [November] 17 Fine weather, heavy frost, and ice.

Friday [November] 18

Mild weather and quite heavy rain since 11:00 o'clock this morning. Have not gone out for a week except to the home of Madam Saugrain. Le Duc, sitting in court, has not informed me of anything. Patience!

Saturday [November] 19

Mild weather, continual rain.

Sunday [November] 20

Continual rain and cold. Mr. Le Duc came to dine in the carriage that had taken Madam Soulard to her sister's house. He told me that Acheley [Ashley] had informed him that he was ready to pay the whole amount upon making to him the discount agreed upon. That is better than waiting a year for the second payment. He told me that he believed that he was going to conclude with Lawles[s] for his fifth, but they are both going to sit in court again this week.

Monday [November] 21

Rain and snow and cold.

Tuesday [November] 22

It froze hard during the night, but the weather is overcast. Although it is thawing in the sunshine, it is frozen hard in the shade. I fear that we are having a winter which will thwart my departure on the coming return trip of the Collel [Collier], which will be here in two weeks.

Wednesday [November] 23

Heavy frost, cold. Southwest wind, pretty sky. Remained also at home. Too cold for me to go to town.

[November] 24, 25, and 26, [Thursday, Friday and Saturday]

The same weather. However, the cold is not as severe today. The thermometer is at 40° F[ahrenheit]. I had a visit from Mr. P. Mesnard [Menard] of Kas[kaskia] with Mr. Cadet Chouteau, good old friends of Mesnard [Menard] family. 154

Sunday [November] 27

Weather cold, overcast, and freezing. Mr. Le Duc came to dine, and has received payment of the \$20,000—in decreasing the discount, etc., reduced to [blank in ms.]. It is like butter in a frying pan. We begin by paying the Soulard succession, to which I owe [blank in ms.] which with the interest climbs to [blank in ms.].

At 4:00 o'clock rather heavy snow and freezes over.

Monday [November] 28

There is one inch of snow. The weather is rather pretty. The F[ah]r[enheit] thermometer at 30° this morning outside. After dinner I went to the house of Mr. Le Duc. He has paid all my debts in part out of the money received. There is a lady who asked him for a list of our lands, which augurs quite favorably. Lawles[s] is at the point of closing. We are agreed that I shall take half of this sum which will remain, and he will keep the other on account of my sacred debt with him.

¹⁸⁴ For Pierre Menard (1766-1844) consult William Stetson Merrill, "Pierre Menard of Illinois," Mid-America, XIV (1931), 15-38. He and Pierre Chouteau senior were brothers-in-law; Menard married secondly Angelique Saucier; Chouteau married secondly Brigitte Saucier; they were daughters of Francois Saucier once of Cahokia and later of Portage des Sioux.

Tuesday [November] 29

This morning I went to town. Good weather. The thermometer as yesterday. We figured with Mr. Le Duc to make the list demanded above. It cannot be as high as I wish it, which keeps me in suspense. However, rather than wait—lawsuits, etc.— I believe I shall make up my mind to accept it. I dined with Mr. Le Duc and family, where they received me with many kindnesses. He is still of the opinion that we leave the Brazeau affair alone. I went to the home of Mr. Cadet to see him as well as Mr. P. Mesnard [Menard] to return his visit. They were absent.

Wednesday [November] 30

The thermometer rose, but the weather cold and pretty. I did not go out through laziness.

Thursday, December 1

It froze very hard. This morning 5° below zero R[éaumur]¹⁵⁵ or 20° Fa[h]r[enheit]. At noon it had risen $5^{\circ} - 30^{\circ}$ Fa[h]r[enheit].

Friday [December] 2

It froze hard all night. 20° F[ahrenheit], but pretty weather. At noon 40° ditto. Mr. Le Duc came this morning to have me sign a land grant certificate, which I recognized having given to Col. Morgan, ¹⁵⁶ while commandant of New Madrid. I am interested. He wished to take me into town with him, but it was too cold although he was in a carriage. He told me that we were on the point of concluding with Lawles[s].

Saturday [December] 3

It froze hard in the night. The thermometer descended to 20°. It grew milder all day long. In the afternoon I went out without an overcoat to go to the house of Mr. Le Duc, but I found this mildness so cold that I stopped at the house of the Mesdames Saugrain, and after my visit and after warming myself, I came back with the wind of this mild weather in my face, which was not at all pleasant. Tonight the t[hermometer] went down to 40°.

¹⁸⁵ The thermometer invented by René Antoine de Réaumur (1683-1757) had a range of 80 degrees between freezing and boiling points: 9° F.: 5° C.: 4° R. For conversion of Réaumur into Fahrenheit multiply by 9/4 and add 32.

186 For Morgan consult Max Savelle, George Morgan, Colony Builder, New York, 1932.

Sunday [December] 4

The thermometer at 40°.

Since 10:00 o'clock rain from the southwest, damp and cold, which does not prevent Madam S[oulard], the mother, from going to Mass in a carriage with her two little girls, 157 and I stay in my room. Mr. Le Duc came to dine. Has not yet concluded with Mr. Lawles[s]. He says that he is going to try this week to conclude with the Brazeau, if there is a possibility. Agreed, in case the weather permits me to leave by the Collel [Collier] on its return trip, that he will come here to settle with me in general.

Monday [December] 5

It froze hard all night. Freezing t[emperature] this morning. At noon rose to 40°. Gustave H. Soulard left this morning to begin to put things in order for working on the plantation above at the St. Cire bridge, to put it into production and to live on it with his wife. Thus, Madam Soulard, the mother, is going to remain here alone on this corner or remnant of this plantation, G[as]ton Soulard being definitely established on the plantation that he built near Galena, 300 miles from here on the Mississippi and the Illinois. Mr. L'Esperance, 158 one of the Brazeau heirs, came to see me very politely in order to propose on behalf of the others concluding in a friendly manner. After several conferences, I told him definitely to talk to Mr. Le Duc—that I approve in advance every kind of arrangement that they will conclude with him.

Tuesday [December] 6

Very cold. The t[hermometer] at 23°, but the weather is fine. Mr. Le Duc has sent me no other word than that a steamboat, the *Boonslick*, 159 was leaving Thursday for New Orleans.

Wednesday [December] 7

Cold and freezing at 29°. 2° below freezing. I dressed to go out, the weather having become 5° milder, but the southwest wind was so strong that I returned immediately, fearing to make worse a sore on my right eye. It is very tiring to have to stay

¹⁸⁷ That is, the two little girls she had brought down from Galena. See note 147.

¹⁸⁸ J. B. Lesperance was then a merchant in St. Louis. For the Brazeau affair see notes 87, 101, and 144.

¹⁵⁰ The steamboat Boonslick, Jones, master, left for New Orleans on the 9th (Missouri Republican, 9 December 1836). A 295-ton vessel, it was built at Pittsburgh in 1833 (Hall, Statistics of the West, 253).

inside, and what will it be if I am here for the winter, the river already being full of ice! Let's hope that from now until the arrival of the Collel [Collier] there will be respite.

Thursday [December] 8

It froze during the night. This morning a great whirlwind. The weather mild. The thermometer at 52°--3° below mild.

Mr. Shaw, the younger, going to Ste. Genevieve by land, tells us that the *Madisson* [*Madison*]¹⁶⁰ was obliged to go back for lack of water, that it is feared that the *Collel* [*Collier*], which draws much more, can return only after a rise in the water. Patience! I fear indeed wintering here. It is a sad thing that one's desires depend on one's business. The *Boonslick* leaves today; it draws little water. But not having concluded my affairs, I cannot take advantage of its departure; moreover I was informed too late of its departure. Madam G[usta]ve S[oulard] has been in bed since yesterday with an inflammation and chest cold.

Friday [December] 9

The rain continued all night. T[hermometer] at 53°. Towards 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon the weather clears up. I received a note from Mr. Le Duc informing me of the exorbitant proposals of the Brazeau succession. He will come Sunday to speak to me about that. The waters have lowered considerably. The Selma 161 came back to distribute its load into other boats. It left again today.

Saturday [December] 10

Fine weather. T[hermometer] at 31°. Froze hard all night. At noon weather not cold. The t[hermometer] at 49°. The thaw in the sunshine being so great that there is so much mud, I do not care to go out, having caught a little cold. Towards 1:00 o'clock Mr. Le Duc sends me an urgent letter so that he may be able to terminate with the Brazeau heirs. Opened the letter and counted. Oh, the robbers in the protection of the confounded and corrupted law of this state! A den of thieves!

¹⁶⁰ The steamboat Madison, Captain Scott, was a 322-ton vessel built at Pittsburgh in 1835 (Hall, Statistics of the West, 258).

¹⁶¹ The Selma, Captain Blood, had been built at Pittsburgh in 1835 (Hall, Statistics of the West, 261). Announcements about its difficulties can be found in the Missouri Republican, 8 December and 12 December.

Sunday [December] 11

It froze very little this night. T[hermometer] at 51°--3° below mild. Rather pretty weather, but much mud. Mr. Le Duc came to dine. He finally concluded with the Brazeau succession by means of \$8,000 cash, which he has already paid, which makes a debt of \$4,000 contracted in 1819 cost me to this day my housewhich I value at more than \$4,000—my land at the Renau Fork¹⁶² at least 1000 per cent and:

\$ 8000 which I am paying today.

05000

4000 without counting the improvements that I made in building it, and through the courts he could get much \$17000 more. Unjust justice and rascally creditors. Their names are Messrs.:

\$11945.72 Mr. Hyp. from the 30,000

(1022 Butte 1382

(360 R. Braud 9505

Note that Mr. Le Duc succeeded in reducing 7680

1885 from \$8000 to \$7680.163

Monday [December] 12

Mild weather, but rain and snow all day. 3° below moderate. Yesterday towards 5:00 o'clock Michel brought me a letter from my sister, which had arrived on the Collet [G. Collier]. She gives me news of my children, etc. Mr. Le Duc sends me word by a note that he is busy closing with my creditors. I am left with my house and grounds. He has already paid \$4,000, and is going to conclude for the remainder.

Tuesday [December] 13

Cold weather and snow 51°.

Mr. Le Duc came to dine. He has concluded and will come tomorrow with the papers so that we may settle our accounts

183 Fourche à Renault or Renault's Fork was named for Philippe Renault who a century earlier had held the mining concession in the Illinois country. This stream is now known as the Mineral Fork of Big River, which is a branch of the Meramec.

183 This account has been reproduced exactly as in the diary even to the meaningless O before the 5000 in the second line. Apparently the \$5000 is the value he set on the Renault Fork lands which must have passed into the Brazeau-Duchouquette hands at some time during this long period of debt settlement. The house must have been that in which he lived 1816-1826, which he lost through mortgage foreclosure. The names of the "rascally creditors" he did not enter in the diary. The second set of figures must represent various local debts; the \$7680 is the \$8000 above which has been reduced by \$320 for prompt payment. "Mr. Hyp." must be Hypolite Papin; Butte I am unable to identify; Braud is probably of the firm of Braud and Detandebaratz. Possibly this second set of figures represents payments that Leduc was making to various creditors from the amounts recently received from land sales? The only thing one can be sure of was that Delassus was involved in debt, that he hoped to clear himself by the sale of his lands, and that only Leduc understood how involved he was.

definitely. He proved to me once more his delicacy by giving me \$3,000, which was an error in my favor in our current accounts up to this day.

Wednesday [December] 14

Snow and heavy frost frozen solid. Mr. Le Duc came. We settled our accounts and our affairs. I leave him the responsibility of selling everything by turning over to him all my properties, ¹⁶⁴ as much to answer for the sum that I am left owing him as to place him in a position to conclude for the fifth with Mr. Lawles[s], who beforehand is to put us in possession and to have the patent turned over to us, etc., and in order that he may have it surveyed etc. He will hand over to me tomorrow the duplicates of these documents which he will make copies of at his house.

Thursday [December] 15

T[hermometer] at O. Weather cold and overcast with snow. the G. Collel [G. Collier] leaves Sunday in the morning, if not later. Thus I have time to get my documents and arrangements from Mr. Le Duc's house so that I shall remain his tranquil debtor, and he tranquilly my authorized agent. Mr. Le Duc sent me my papers.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Whoever wishes to untangle the financial affairs of Delassus and Leduc and to arrive at a clear understanding of the lands owned by Delassus will want to consult particularly the case of Ulrici, Adm'r of Delassus, & McCarty v. Papin et al. in 11 Missouri Reports, 43-50 and the records in Joseph L. Papin, Administrator of Leduc v. Auguste Delassus et al. filed in the Circuit Court of St. Charles County 10 February 1854; a transcript of the latter is to be found in the Johnson Collection of Delassus Papers.

in the Circuit Court of St. Charles County 10 February 1854; a transcript of the latter is to be found in the Johnson Collection of Delassus Papers.

185 The agreement referred to on the 14th was drawn up and signed on the 15th; I extract it from 11 Missouri Reports 46: "For security of payment of which sum (said balance of \$23,133.23), the undersigned have agreed, and do agree, as follows, to wit: that Marie Philip Leduc having in his hands the transfer of the bond of James Mackay for a part of the tract of land of thirty thousand arpents granted to said Mackay the 13th October, 1799, also a deed of sale for the remainder of a tract of land of seven thousand and fifty-six arpents, grants to Deluzieres, in the county of St. François, of which a part belongs to William Alexander; the deed of sale of said land so made to Leduc is recorded in the county of St. François, the 6th December, 1835; also, 6,056 arpents, part of a square league granted to Louis Curtois, jr., and sold by said Curtois to said Leduc, by deed recorded in the office of the recorder of the county of St. Louis, book F, p. 5; also, 20,000 arpents on the Salt river in the county of Pike, making part of a tract of land of 30,000 arpents granted to M. Delassus the 10th February, 1798; the deed of sale from M. Delassus to Leduc is recorded in the said county of Pike, book F, p. 268, for the 30,000 arpents, of which ten thousand arpents belong to the said Leduc, and the other twenty thousand arpents are only in his hands as security, as above it is mentioned; also 268,494 arpents, or thereabouts, part of a grant made to James Clamorgan, on the Mississippi below New Madrid, by grant of the 9th August, 1796, which land Mr. Strother is authorized to sell at twelve and a half cents per arpent, and on which lands Messrs. Lawless and Strother have interest by contract, it is well understood that on the proceeds of said sales, after having satisfied the contract of Messrs. Lawless and Strother, the said Leduc shall retain the said sum of twenty-three thousa

Friday [December] 16

T[hermometer] at 20° F[ahrenhit], 4° below zero R[éaumur]. Snowed all night and all day—more than a foot of snow, and tonight there must be two feet of it. The Captain of the Collel [Collier] sent me word today that, with this weather, it was impossible to leave. Patience! I sent back my papers, that is to say, our agreement, in order to make several changes in it, now that the bad weather permits me to conclude with much meditation. Mr. Le Duc sent me word that he would bring them back tomorrow—to send for him.

Saturday [December] 18 [sic]

Snow and freezing all night. 20° F[ahrenheit], 5° below zero R[éaumur]. Mr. Le Duc wrote me that it was necessary that he go to an assembly of public schools, 166 but that he will come tomorrow towards 3:00 o'clock. The sun appeared beautiful; the horizon very clear in the setting sun. But it is freezing hard tonight. The thermometer at the same degree.

Sunday [December] 18

Hard freeze. F[ahrenheit thermometer] 10°; R[éaumur] 10° below zero. Pretty sunshine. Mr. Le Duc came to dine. We are definitely agreed as to how he will conclude our document of agreement in duplicate. I will have time to sign them, for Augustin, who arrives, tells me that the Collel [Collier], because of the great cold and the ice which is going to increase, has sent back its crew until [date omitted]. He fears to winter here. Here I am caught until a thaw. Let's have patience! The Madison left today in spite of every obstacle. But I did not think of embarking on it. I did not want to expose myself to a hibernation in the ice as in 1823.

Monday [December] 19

It did not freeze this night. T[hermometer] at 49° F[ahrenhei]t, 7° above zero R[éaumur]. Rain all day, and the t[hermometer] climbed to moderate. In the afternoon G[ustave] S[oulard] met the clerk of the G. Collel [G. Collier], who told him that if it continues to rain, it would leave Thursday. God grant it!

¹⁶⁶ He was then President of the St. Louis Public School Board.

Tuesday [December] 20

Rain and mild.

Towards noon the wind changed suddenly—passes to the northwest, with hail and sudden cold. The t[hermometer] descended to 20° Fa[h]r[enheit], 10° below zero R[éaumur]. It is maintained at this point until 10:00 o'clock at night. Thus, there is my departure on the Collel [Collier] delayed again. Let us hope that it will not be like that for several months.

Wednesday [December] 21

Very strong northwest wind all night and hard freeze. T[hermometer] 10° F[ahrenheit], 10° below zero R[éaumur]. The Gazette, dated yesterday, announces the probable departure of the Prairie¹⁶⁷ today and of the Gge Collel [George Collier] tomorrow, the twenty-second. But probably this notice was put in yesterday morning during the rain and mild weather before this sudden cold change, and today the river is full of ice. The clerk sent me word in the afternoon to be on the alert. At the first moment that the river becomes clear, that the Collel [Collier] will leave. Tonight at 11:00 o'clock the t[hermometer] 29° F[ahrenheit], 3° below zero R[éaumur].

Thursday [December] 22

Southwest wind, freezing, overcast weather. T[hermometer] 20° F[ahrenheit], 5° below zero R[éaumur]. Mr. Le Duc sent me word by G[ustave] S[oulard] that he will come Sunday and will probably bring what remains to be signed between him and me, and the copies, etc.

Friday [December] 23

Mild and cloudy weather. T[hermometer] 40° F[ahrenheit], 5° above zero R[éaumur]. It is thawing. As a result, I sent Augustin to see Captain Taylor of the G. Collet [G. Collier], who sent me word to send to see tomorrow morning, because if the weather continues, we shall leave in the afternoon. It is noon. Thermometer at 50°. In the night at 11:00 o'clock at 42° F[ahrenheit], 5° above zero R[éaumur]. Mr. Le Duc came to dine, having been informed that the Collet [Collier] was leaving

¹⁸⁷ The steamboat Prairie (Sellers, Master) had first been advertised to leave on the 18th; apparently it did leave on the 21st (Missouri Republican, 15, 20 December 1836).

tomorrow at 10:00 o'clock in the morning, and we finally concluded all that was possible. He has acted towards me with all the consideration, zeal, and friendliness, etc., etc. He has kept nothing out of the sale of my debt with him; he allowed me to take what remains after my other debts are paid. 168 He has conducted himself with all the wisdom, finesse, patience, and tact of a true business man, wholly in justice against my creditors B. and Duct., 169 who, without him, in the protection of the law could have ruined me. We dined very gaily with the family of Madam Soulard. We both brought some shoes to the family of Gaston D[er]b[ign]y, etc. etc. 170

Saturday December 24

Got up at 6:30 in the morning. The F[ahrenheit] t[hermometer] stayed at freezing until 8:00 o'clock, and it rose to 5° below moderate. Mr. Le Duc, whom my friend G. H. Soulard sent for early to breakfast with us, had the kindness before coming to go aboard the G. Collel [G. Collier] to ascertain whether it was leaving today, concerning which he was told by Captain Teylor [Taylor] that it was leaving today at 1:30.171 He has reserved my room. The S[oulard] ladies gave us a very nice farewell breakfast. I forced myself to put on a good face, so great was my sorrow which was caused me by going away from such a good family and which has always shown me and our whole family, especially me and my only son, a rare affection. After breakfast my estimable and generous friend Mr. M. P. Le Duc, handed over to me a memorandum which specifies the status of the transaction of the property of the P.

¹⁶⁸ It is difficult to make up one's mind about Leduc. He had always been Delassus' man of affairs and after Delassus had left St. Louis in 1804 Leduc held a power of attorney and managed completely all of the business in Missouri. Delassus it is clear neither knew how to make money nor how to keep it; he was forever drawing on Leduc for cash and was never in the position of being able to pay off an ever-increasing debt. It is true that Leduc not merely did not now ask to have any part of the debt paid off but kept on advancing him money. Nevertheless, during all these years he had been charging Delassus 10 per cent interest on the debt and he now held a mortgage on all lands in Missouri owned by Delassus. It does not seem that Leduc came out of this too badly financially, yet it is clear that Delassus thought very highly of the conduct of his old friend.

In the inventory of the Delassus estate made 3 July 1844 the following tracts of land were listed, all subject to mortgage to Leduc to cover indebtedness to him: 100 arpents on south fork of the Saline River, district of Ste. Genevieve; 6056 arpents in St. Francois County; 30,000 arpents in Pike County on the Salt River; 14,000 arpents (of the concession of 30,000 to Mackay) in St. Charles, Lincoln, and Franklin counties; 6056 arpents of the Courtois grant; 3600 arpents in Warren County; 5000 arpents of a 10,000-arpent grant to B. Cousin—all but the last of these had been confirmed in 1836. (St. Louis Probate Court File No. 1900-B). It is clear that some of the holdings had been disposed of between 1836 and 1844.

¹⁸³⁶ and 1844.

¹⁶⁹ Once more, Brazeau and Duchouquette.

¹⁷⁰ So the line reads, but what it means I do not know; could Delassus have meant to write Gaston Soulard?

¹⁷¹The departure of the George Collier had been first advertised for 15 December; the actual date of leaving was the 25th (Missouri Republican, 13, 20 December, 1836).

D[er]b[ign]y succession and another containing a proposal which has reference to my son, for my affairs between the said Le Duc and myself. At last after having talked of different things, it was necessary to leave. Oh! cruel farewells which I have never liked and which I have always made with a shrinking of the heart extremely painful for me. Afterwards we climbed into the carriage with Mr. Le Duc, and G[ustave] S[oulard] driving us, we went directly to the boat, not having said farewell to anyone. Moreover, the weather bad and the streets impassable. These gentlemen remained on board until time for dinner. As there was no sign of departure, they went to dine and returned afterwards. It has rained much, which has reduced the ice and made the river rise. These gentlemen returned about 3:00 o'clock, and we spent the rest of the day together. The captain decided not to leave until tomorrow morning because of the rain and the obscurity. Mr. La Beaume, the elder, 172 came to see me and gave me news of all my family and his, whom I have not seen for more than a month because of the bad weather. He took it upon himself to bid them adieu for me. These gentlemen returned to land at dusk. Gustave and Le Duc told me that they would return early tomorrow morning to bid me farewell. Thus, there I am embarked on the Ge Collel [G. Collier], the same Steamboat on which I embarked at the end of June. I am setting out in good health, with the same baggage and bringing back Michel and Augustin, my slaves, returning to meet again my good sister and family as well as my children, whom I hope will have returned from France upon my arrival. Captain Wm. Teylor [Taylor]. The second in command the clerk—Mr. Waldon, It is 7:00 o'clock. We had supper at 6:30. There is a sudden downpour.

Sunday, December 25 Christmas Day

Towards 1:00 o'clock in the morning the rain changed into snow with a wind from the northwest, which made the F[ahrenheit] t[hermometer] fall to zero, which restored and made solid again the ice on the Missisipy. Notwithstanding, the Captain gave orders to start the fires at 8:30 o'clock in the morning. Seeing from on board the streets full of snow, I judged that those gentlemen would not come—G[ustave] S[oulard] and M. P. Le Duc. I wrote to the latter, bidding him farewell and enclosing a letter for C[olone]l E. L. Lawles[s] for the same

¹⁷² That is, Louis Alexandre LaBeaume, the elder brother. The father had been dead since 1821.

reason, having been to his house very little because of the bad weather. At 9:30 o'clock we got under way in beautiful sunshine, but freezing weather, zero by the F[ahrenheit thermometer]. There are twenty-four places at the first table. The water having risen, we passed without touching the Herculaneum and Marameck [Meramec] sandbars, but the ice is becoming more abundant and very thick. We sailed across by pulverizing it, and tonight at 8:00 o'clock we are exactly ninety miles from St. Louis. We passed Ste. Genevieve at 3:00 o'clock, which is sixty miles from St. Louis, which makes more than eight and one-half miles an hour across the ice.

Monday [December] 26

We found the ice thicker, having frozen hard all night. We caught up with the *Madisson* [*Madison*], which left from St. Louis Sunday the eighteenth. It was a little below Cape Girardeau, and we took the same route, having passed the ice which was very thick up to a little above New Madrid, and there was not any in the Ohio, having gone in a good mile towards 3:30 in the morning. It is 9:30 o'clock; we stop to take on some wood three or four miles below New Madrid. Today at noon the F[ahrenheit] t[hermometer] fell to 21°, 4½° below zero R[éaumur]. Since yesterday at 9:30 in the morning, more than sixty leagues in forty-eight hours, and we traveled slowly last night and today up to 3:00 o'clock in the morning because of the ice. Our cabin is very well made up—no gamblers, no drinkers, and all decent people.

Tuesday [December] 27

We stop at Memphis at 11:30 o'clock to take on wood. The Chancelor, coming from Louisville, passes us. We are leaving the Madisson [Madison] a little behind us, the temperature is a little milder here at noon. In the shade the F[ahrenheit thermometer] rose to 45°, which makes 14° [sic] difference since yesterday at the same hour. 149 miles from St. Louis in two and one-half days, having sailed in very thick ice for a day and one-half.

Wednesday [December] 28

There was a heavy frost this morning. Weather mild. We traveled fast all night without stopping. I caught a cold yesterday, which prevented me from sleeping; and at St. Louis in

unusually cold weather I did not catch a cold. I can hardly swallow. Patience! I hope that we shall have landed by the thirtieth or the thirty-first.

Thursday [December] 29

At daybreak at Wuickburg [Vicksburg].¹⁷³ Unloaded some freight. Got under way again at 10:00 o'clock, 103 miles from Natchez. Arrived at Natchez at 9:00 o'clock at night. A great number of the passengers landed.

Friday [December] 30

Good progress the rest of the night. Fine weather, cool. At 11:00 o'clock in the morning passed Baton Rouge. Took on a passenger. At 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon opposite the College of [blank in ms.].¹⁷⁴ At 7:00 o'clock stopped to take on wood. Thirty-six miles from New Orleans. Got under way again at 7:30 o'clock. Arrived at the port of New Orleans at 10:45 in the morning without the slightest accident all the way, which was in spite of the ice. We made the trip from St. Louis here in 133½ hours (more than 8½ miles an hour—25% leagues, more or less). I shall go ashore tomorrow morning. On board the George Collier this thirtieth of December in the port of New Orleans. 175

C. D. D[e]l[assu]s

¹⁷⁸ For a traveler's description of Vicksburg in November, 1836, see Herbert A. Kellar (ed.), "Diary of James D. Davidson," Journal of Southern History, I (1935), 355-356.

^{174 &}quot;Our boat had received a great addition in mirth, in the shape of eighty or a hundred boys returning from Jefferson College, which is about a hundred miles above New Orleans, to spend the Christmas holidays [1835] in or near that city. They were most of them Creoles, and it did me good to hear their light and joyous laughter, after our dull and tedious voyage" (Charles Augustus Murray, Travels in North America [2 vols., London, 1841], II, 183-184).

¹⁷⁵ For traveler's views of New Orleans about this time consult Tyrone Power, Impressions of America, II, 98-106, 131-148 (January and March, 1835); C. A. Murray, Travels in North America, II, 185-192 (December, 1835); Herbert A. Kellar (ed.), "Diary of James D. Davidson," Journal of Southern History, I (1935), 357-363 (November, 1836).

SAMUEL JARVIS PETERS*

By RITA KATHERINE CAREY

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY AND EARLY YEARS

Puritan is a term seldom thought of in connection with New Orleans. The stern outlook on life and the strict sense of duty of those religious leaders of New England seem far removed from the gay, pleasure-loving people of that metropolis of the South. Surprising it is then to find that any study of the early history of New Orleans reveals many names reminiscent of Boston and Salem and Providence. Such a one was Samuel Jarvis Peters, who came from a long line of Puritan ancestors and numbered among them at least one who spilled his blood in defense of his ideals.

Hugh Peters, the first of the line to come to America, was born of eminent parentage in Fowey, Cornwall, England in 1599. He attended Trinity College and upon his graduation in 1613 turned to the ministry. While a preacher at St. Sepulcher's in London he was persecuted for non-conformity and was committed to prison. Through the influence of powerful friends at Court, he was released and traveled to the Low Countries where he was associated with the famous William Ames. During his stay in Holland, Hugh became interested in the experiment of the New England Colonies, and upon his return to London in 1629 he determined to join the Puritans in the New World.

^{*} Master's thesis in History, Louisiana State University, 1945.

¹ Joseph B. Felt, "Memoir of Hugh Peters," in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, V (1851), 3.

² James Wilson and John Fiske, eds., Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1896-1916), VIII, 338. Cited hereafter as Cyclopaedia of American Biography.

³ Felt, loc. cit., V, 12, 13.

⁴ Ibid., V, 14.

⁵ William Ames (1576-1633) was an English Puritan clergyman and writer on moral philosophy. He was compelled to leave England because of persecution of nonconformists. He became professor of theology in the University of Francker, Friesland, 1622-1632. He was famous in his time as a master of theological controversy. Frank Moore Colby and Talcott Williams, eds., New International Encyclopaedia (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1927), I, 540. Cited hereafter as New International Encyclopaedia.

^{*} Felt, loc. cit., V, 15.

In 1635 he arrived in Boston among the passengers on the ships Abigail and Defence. Hugh became the pastor of the First Church of Salem, succeeding Roger Williams, and divided his labors between Boston and Salem.8 In addition to his work as a minister he took an active part in the mercantile and civil affairs of the colony, as shown by the fact that in 1638 he was appointed to help in collecting and revising the colonial laws.9 Friends of New England in the mother country advised that agents should be sent to England to notice national movements and to obtain the favor of Parliment in behalf of the colonists. 10 In 1641 Hugh Peters was selected with Thomas Welde¹¹ and William Hibbens¹² to travel to England as agents of the colony.13 They were to petition for a repeal of the impost and exercise duties but were not to accept any privileges which would commit the colony as an ally in the contest between the Royalists and the Reformers.14 They seemingly accomplished their mission, as shortly afterwards Parliment released New England from all duties on exports to the mother country and on imports of goods to be used directly in the colonies.15

Hugh Peters did not return to America but became chaplain in the forces against the Royalists. 16 As a close friend and follower of Oliver Cromwell he held several important positions under the new government, and was moreover reputed to be one of those who participated in the execution of Charles I.17 With the restoration of the monarchy, Hugh was arrested, confined to the Tower, and for his part in the conspiracy suffered a traitor's death in 1660.18 Despite his infamous end Hugh Peters is generally

⁷ Ibid., V, 17.

⁸ Cyclopaedia of Americaa Biography, VIII, 338.

⁹ Felt, loc. cit., V, 234.

¹⁰ Ibid., V, 235.
¹¹ Thomas Welde (also spelled "Weld"), first minister of Roxbury, Massachusetts, came to Boston in 1632. He was sent to England as agent of the colony; never returned; died in England in 1661. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1936), XIX, 627-628. Cited hereafter as Dictionary of American Biography.

¹² William Hibbens arrived in Boston in 1634. He was chosen as a representative in 1640, and in 1641 was sent to England with Hugh Peters as an agent of the colony. He returned to the colony the next year and remained there until his death in 1643. James Savage, Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1860), II, 409. Cited hereafter as Savage, Genealogical Dictionary.

¹⁸ Ibid., III, 402.

¹⁴ Felt, loc. cit., V, 235.

¹⁸ Ibid., V, 238. 16 Ibid., V, 277.

¹⁷ Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1885-1900), XLV, 69-77, passim.

¹⁸ Dictionary of American Biography, XIV, 498.

recognized today as a truly great man. 19 His opinions of civil and religious liberty were essentially the same as those of the leaders of the American Revolution.20 He endeavored to do what he thought was right and in all his dealings even with his enemies he acted with moderation and kindness.21

William, the elder brother of Hugh, was educated at Leyden University.²² He came to America in 1634 and settled near Boston.²³ He became a gentleman of property and had the deed to the whole peninsula where Boston now stands.24

Thomas Peters, the younger brother of Hugh, was ordained a minister in Cornwall.25 He came to New England in 1639 and assisted the younger Winthrop on his plantation.26 He later established a school at Saybrook which eventually became the foundation of Yale College.27 Thomas returned to England in 1646 to resume his duties as minister.28

The descendants of William Peters settled in Hebron,29 Connecticut.30 Among them was Samuel Peters, the son of John and Mary (Marks) Peters, who was born in Hebron in 1735.31 He graduated from Yale in 1757 and the next year traveled to England where in 1759 he was ordained a minister in the Established Church.³² Samuel Peters returned to Connecticut and took charge of the churches at Hebron and Hartford.33 New England at this time was having trouble with the mother country over the Stamp Act and the tax on tea. Dr. Peters, whose sympathies were with England, left Hebron and went to Boston where he took passage for England, leaving behind him a twelve-year-old daughter

¹⁹ George C. H. Kernion, "Samuel Jarvis Peters: The Man Who Made New Orleans of To-day and Became a National Personality," in *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society*, VII (1913-1914), 64.

³⁰ Felt, loc. cit., V, 433.

²¹ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 64.

²² Felt, loc. cit., V, 3.

²³ Samuel Drake, "Some Account of the Peters Family," in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, II (1848), 63.

²⁴ Samuel Peters, General History of Connecticut (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1877), 50. footnote.

²⁵ Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, III, 402.

²⁶ Drake, loc. cit., II, 63, citing Benjamin Trumbull, History of Connecticut.

²⁷ Peters, History of Connecticut, 50, footnote.

²⁸ Drake, loc. cit., II, 59.

²⁹ Hebron, a post village in Hebron Township, Tolland County, Connecticut, about twenty miles southeast of Hartfora. Angelo and Louis Heilprin, eds., New Gazetteer (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1906), 813. Cited hereafter as New Gazetteer.

⁸⁰ Peters, History of Connecticut, 140.

³¹ Dictionary of American Biography, XIV, 511.

³³ Cyclopaedia of American Biography, VIII, 339.

³³ Lorenzo Sabine, Biographical Sketches of the Loyalists of the American Revolution (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1864), II, 177. Cited hereafter as Sabine, Loyalists.

and an infant son.34 He remained abroad until 1805 when he returned to America, and in 1817 made a journey to the West to investigate the claim of Jonathon Carver³⁵ to a large portion of land east of the Mississippi River. Some years later he bought the claim and succeeded in interesting a company of New York merchants in settling there.36 In 1826, however, Congress disallowed the claims to the land³⁷ and the plans for settlement were necessarily dropped. Upon his return from the West Samuel Peters settled in New York where he remained until his death in 1826, at the age of 91.38 He had married three times; in 1760 to Hannah Owen from which union one daughter, Hannah,39 was born; his second wife was Abigail Gilbert, who lived but a few months after the marriage; in 1773 he married Mary Birdseye who died in 1774, leaving an infant son, William Birdseye Peters. 40 Samuel Peters was buried in Hebron, Connecticut, where his grandson, Samuel Jarvis Peters, caused a monument to be erected in his honor.41

William Birdseye Peters, the only son of Samuel and Mary Birdseye Peters, was born in Hebron in 1774.42 He was sent to Europe to be educated and graduated in law from Trinity College, Oxford. 43 He returned to America and settled in York. 44 Upper Canada, where he served as secretary to Colonel William Jarvis. 45 the secretary of the Province.46 In 1796 William married Miss Pattie Marvin Jarvis, the daughter of Samuel Jarvis of Stanford, 47 Connecticut.48 Six children were born of this union: Albertine,

³⁴ Dictionary of American Biography, XIV, 511.

³⁵ Jonathan Carver was an American explorer. According to his story he traveled as far west as Minnesota. He went to England hoping to get the journal of his travels published but was disappointed. In 1788 a book purporting to be his story of his travels appeared. Later critics proved it to be a compilation of the writings of other travelers. New International Englanding 17, 615 Encyclopaedia, IV, 615.

³⁶ Dictionary of American Biography, XIV, 512.

³⁷ American State Papers, Public Lands, IV, 82.

³⁸ Sabine, Loyalists, II, 181.

³⁹ Hannah married William Jarvis, the Secretary of Upper Canada, Ibid.

⁴⁰ Dictionary of American Biography, XIV, 511.

⁴¹ Sabine, Loyalists, II, 181.

⁴² Stanley Clisby Arthur and George Campbell Huchet de Kernion, Old Families of Louisiana (New Orleans: Harmanson Publishing Co., 1931), 276. Cited hereafter as Arthur and de Kernion, Old Families.

⁴³ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 68.

⁴⁴ York, the former name of Toronto, Canada. New Gazetteer, 2040.

⁴⁵ William Jarvis was a cavalry officer in the Queen's Rangers. He was wounded at the siege of Yorktown; after the peace he settled in Upper Canada and became Secretary of the Province. Sabine, Loyalists, I, 571.

⁴⁶ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 68.

⁴⁷ Stamford, a city in Fairfield County, Connecticut, on Long Island Sound. New Gazetteer, 1755.

⁴⁸ New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

Samuel Jarvis, Augustine, William, Sally, and Hugh. In 1803 the Peters family moved back to Connecticut where William remained until 1817. In that year he went to New York and three years later traveled to Mobile, Alabama, where he practiced law until his death in 1821. His wife returned to New York after his death and here in 1842 she met a tragic end, being accidentally burned to death while resting in bed.50

Samuel Jarvis Peters, the eldest son of William and Pattie Peters, was born in Toronto, Canada, July 30, 1801.51 Shortly afterwards the family moved back to Hebron, Connecticut, where Samuel Jarvis attended school. During the course of his studies he was assigned the task of drawing a map of North America.⁵² While tracing the vast Mississippi River and its tributaries he noted the location of New Orleans and, though at the time but sixteen years of age, saw the great possibilities of that city.53 He carefully computed the extent of inland navigation, studied the nature of the surrounding country and concluded that New Orleans was destined to become the greatest city in the nation. At the same time he told his companions of his determination to travel there and have a share in that destiny.54.

To the people of the North and the East going to New Orleans was almost synonomous with going to your death.55 The city was reputed to be a vast graveyard—the damp climate and dreaded yellow fever being particularly dangerous for anyone from another section of the country. 56 Young Peters' relatives, therefore, tried to dissuade him from this project, presenting as a second difficulty the need of a knowledge of the French language.⁵⁷ Even at this early age Samuel Jarvis gave evidence of the determination and the spirit of enterprise which were to characterize his later life. To overcome the difficulty of the language he traveled to New York where he secured a position in a French countinghouse and lived with a French family of that city. His leisure hours, from nine to eleven at night, were spent

⁴⁹ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 68.

⁵⁰ Ibid., VII, 69.

⁸¹ Arthur and de Kernion, Old Families, 276.

⁸³ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 68.

⁵³ Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

⁵⁴ Peters Papers in the possession of Miss Myrthee Peters, New Orleans.

⁸⁸ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 68.

so George E. Waring and George W. Cable, Social Statistics of Oities: History and Present Condition of New Orleans, Louisiana, and Report on the City of Austin, Texas (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881), 43. Cited hereafter as Waring and Cable, Social Statistics.

⁸⁷ Peters Papers.

in taking French lessons. So diligently did he work at his appointed task that in a short time he had acquired an excellent command of the language, enabling him to speak it as fluently as English. He also made himself acquainted with the Spanish tongue,58 a knowledge that served him well in his adopted city which was even then advancing its claim to the title "cosmopolitan." With the obstacle of the language overcome, a sound business training acquired in the countinghouse, and a serene confidence in his destiny, Samuel Jarvis Peters took passage on a small schooner leaving New York in October, 1821, and bound for New Orleans. 59 He was at this time twenty years of age; in his pocket were letters recommending him as a clerk, together with money enough for two week's board. 60 He arrived in New Orleans in November, 1821, a stranger. 61 Eight years later we find him on the City Council as the representative of a ward of the "Old City."62 Thus was begun the career of "one of the most remarkable men who ever engaged in the public and commercial affairs in this city or indeed in the nation."63

CHAPTER II

FIRST YEARS IN NEW ORLEANS

New Orleans, in 1821, could scarcely have presented much to justify young Peters' dream of a great metropolis. It was still the old city of the French and Spanish, bounded by Canal Street, the Mississippi River, Esplanade Avenue and Rampart Street. What today is known as the Vieux Carré in those days constituted the entire city of New Orleans. The population was less than 50,000; there were no sidewalks; streets were unpaved; gas had not yet been tried for lighting purposes. The narrow streets, with their close rows of solid, somber houses, must have seemed quite foreign to the young New Englander.

⁵⁸ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 68.

⁵⁹ Peters Papers.

⁶⁰ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 68.

⁶¹ Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

⁶² New Orleans Louisiana Advertiser, April 6, 1829.

⁶³ William H. Coleman, ed., Historical Sketch Book and Guide to New Orleans and Environs (New York: W. H. Coleman, 1885), 306.

¹ Benjamin M. Norman, ed., Norman's New Orleans and Environs (New Orleans: B. M. Norman; New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1845), 68.

³ John Paxton, ed., New Orleans Directory and Register (New Orleans: Benjamin Levy & Co., 1822), 25.

^{*} Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 68.

Within a few days he procured a situation in the house of J. H. Leverich and Company, a firm of wholesale grocers, Here he remained for two years, during which time he earned the confidence and respect of his employers.6 Having taken lodgings with a French family, he set about perfecting his knowledge of the language. In 1822, during his first summer in New Orleans. occurred the most fatal epidemic of yellow fever yet to visit the city. At the private boarding house where Mr. Peters resided there were seven other boarders, all newcomers to the city and all like himself unacclimated.8 Fate here seemed to have stepped in and taken a hand. Of this group he was the only one to survive the epidemic.9 It was in November of this same year that Samuel Jarvis married Mlle. Angelique de Silly, an estimable young lady from Santo Domingo. 10 From this union three sons and four daughters were born: Samuel Jarvis,11 Henrietta,12 William. Corrine, Amanda, 13 Myrthee, 14 and Benjamin Franklin. 15

The next consideration was to establish a business of his own. In 1823 Samuel J. Peters entered into a partnership with Thomas Millard, and the wholesale grocery firm of Peters and Millard was founded. The latter supplied the capital of \$2500; Mr. Peters brought to the firm the energy and skill needed in conducting daring enterprises.17 This commercial house, located at the corner of Hevia and Old Levee streets, prospered and became in time one of the most wealthy firms of its kind. It was esteemed, moreover, for its strict integrity and honorable dealings. 18

⁴ James H. Leverich, grocer, located at 29 Common Street above Magazine. Paxton. Directory (1822), 19.

⁸ Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

⁶ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 69.
7 Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.
8 Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 69.

^{*} Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 69.

* Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

10 Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 78.

11 Samuel Jarvis, Jr., born December 13, 1823, died 1863; was sent to Geneva, Switzerland, to be educated; studied under the best masters; read law with Christian Roselius to acquire the legal knowledge necessary for a businessman; married Aspasie La Villebruge; had one daughter who lived but a few months. Ibid., VII, 66.

one daughter who lived but a few months. *Ibid.*, VII, 66.

12 Henrietta, born 1825, died 1854; married Jules A. Blanc; had seven children. Peters ers in Edwin Lastrapes Collection, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University,

New Orleans.

13 William, born 1826, died 1829; Corinne, born 1829, died 1832; Amanda, born 1830,

¹⁴ Myrthee, born 1828; died unmarried in 1854 within a few days of her sister, Henrietta.

Myrthee, born 1828; died unmarried in 1854 within a few days of her sister, Henrietta.
 Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 79.
 ¹⁸ Benjamin Franklin, well-known stockbroker in New Orleans; had been intended for the law; attended Middletown, Connecticut, school of his relative, S. Farmer Jarvis; entered Harvard in 1850 and graduated from the law department in 1852; married Marie Le Monnier; had nine children; died in 1908. Peters Papers, Lastrapes Collection; Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 79.
 ¹⁸ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 69.
 ¹⁹ Derike Piccurus, November 28, 1897.

¹⁷ Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

18 John Smith Kendall, History of New Orleans (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1924),
I, 126. Cited hereafter as Kendall, New Orleans.

Mr. Peters now entered upon the work which was to occupy the greater part of his time and energy for the next thirty years. To share in the destiny of New Orleans he must take an active part in her affairs. The city had already shown signs of expanding her original bounds.19 In company with James H. Caldwell,20 like himself of alien birth and parentage, Samuel J. Peters planned the development of a faubourg outside the limits of the Old City.²¹ They chose originally, the lower faubourg, the Faubourg Marigny,22 where the deep harbor, secure levees and ample wharf space seemed admirably suited to their plans.²³ With this end in view the men approached Bernard de Marigny,²⁴ a wealthy Creole and an influential citizen.25 His estate comprised almost the entire faubourg and some start had already been made towards laying out streets and squares.26 After much discussion Marigny consented to yield at a fabulous sum a large part of the land.27 All the documents had been drawn up and the parties concerned met in the notary's office for the final signatures. Mrs. Marigny, at her husband's suggestion, it was claimed, absented herself, and as her dotal and paraphernal rights were involved, all proceedings were halted. Mr. Peters denounced this as double dealing and prophesied that the Marignys would one day regret their actions.28

This attitude on the part of Marigny showed the extent to which the difficulties among the nationalities in New Orleans had progressed.²⁹ The Creole population regarded the Americans with distrust and contempt. The Americans, for the most part, assumed the manner of superiors, and as was natural much

¹⁹ Paxton, Directory (1822), 10, 19.

²⁰ James H. Caldwell, an Englishman, an actor by profession, arrived in New Orleans in 1820. He introduced English drama into the city and planned a theatre where only English plays would be presented. He promoted the American Theatre in the American Quarter and later built the St. Charles Theatre. Through his influence gas was introduced as an illuminant in New Orleans. Kendall, New Orleans, I, 127, 128.

²¹ Ibid., I, 126.

³² Bernard Marigny owned land below Esplanade Avenue. He laid out this princely estate in streets and squares and founded Faubourg Marigny. It extended from Esplanade to D'Engien Street. *Ibid.*, II, 674.

²³ Henry C. Castellanos, New Orleans As It Was (New Orleans: L. Graham Co., 1905), 251.

³⁴ Bernard de Marigny was one of the most colorful characters of New Orleans in antebellum days. He was born in 1785 and died in 1868. He was a representative of the old race. He sat in the Territorial Legislature of 1810 and in the constitutional conventions of 1811-1812 and 1844-1845, and served under General Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. Arthur and de Kernion. Old Families, 318.

²⁵ Castellanos, New Orleans As It Was, 252.

²⁶ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 125.

²⁷ Castellanos, New Orleans As It Was, 252.

²⁸ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 68.

²⁹ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 137.

friction ensued.30 Peters and Cadwell believed the Americans would flock to a section where they would be separated from the Creole element.31 Many of them had already settled above Canal Street in the Faubourg St. Mary,32 and so the two men transferred their attention to this section. They purchased a considerable part of the holdings of Jean Gravier³³ from the son of the original owner and, with the assistance of Banks,34 Pritchard35 and other public-spirited men, they began to develop the new faubourg.36 Conditions in New Orleans were changing and the Faubourg St. Mary was destined to prosper.³⁷ The Creole merchants continued to rely on trade from the West Indies, France and Spain.38 But a new commerce with the North and East by way of the Mississippi River was beginning.³⁹ This trade carrying cotton and tobacco north in exchange for corn and flour fell into the hands of the American merchants. 40 By 1835 the Faubourg St. Mary rivaled in population and had begun to exceed in wealth and importance the Vieux Carré.41

In 1829 Mr. Peters was elected to the City Council by residents of the First Ward, inhabited chiefly by French and Spanish people.⁴² This might be taken as an indication of the confidence they had in his integrity, justice and judgment as "up to this time no person not a native had represented in that body any precinct of the Old Square." The antagonism of the Creole and the American was expressed consistently in the City Council where the representatives of the two nationalities divided sharply on every question of public policy.⁴⁴ As the aldermen from the

^{*} Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 70, 71.

³¹ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 126.

³³ Faubourg St. Mary extended from Canal to Felicity and from the river to Carondelet Street. Thomas J. Spear, Ancient and Modern New Orleans (New Orleans, 1879), 19.

³⁵ Jean Gravier, native of France and resident of New Orleans for nearly half a century; possessor of untold thousands accumulated by thrift and honesty; ever ready to help the needy and unfortunate; was done out of much of his wealth and land through crooked manipulations; died in poverty in 1834. Castellanos, New Orleans As It Was, 271-274.

³⁴ Thomas Banks, a merchant, built on Magazine Street between Gravier and Natchez a three-story edifice known as Banks' Arcade; glass-roofed courtyard which combined an auction mart and barroom; contained some features of a modern office building. Kendall, New Orleans, I, 14.

³⁵ Richard O. Pritchard, wholesale grocer; a director of the Louisiana State Marine and Fire Insurance Company and of the Bank of Louisiana. Paxton, Directory (1830), 35.

⁸⁶ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 126.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Waring and Cable, Social Statistics, 44.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 45.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 126.

⁴² Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 70.

⁴³ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 126.

⁴⁴ Ibid., I, 137.

Old City outnumbered by two to one the members from the American Faubourg they held the balance of power. 45 All improvements to landings and wharves were made in the lower part of the city.46 Above Canal Street where the new trade was constantly increasing nothing was done.47 "There was not a paving stone above Canal Street; not a wharf in the entire length of the city with the consequence of an enormous tax levied upon produce in the shape of drayage and repairs of injuries to packages."48 During his first term on the Council Mr. Peters was placed at the head of the Committee on Streets and Landings.49 In his first report he urged the construction of wharves in the Faubourg St. Mary and repairs to the levees.⁵⁰ This produced a bitter and violent discussion between the two factions. Mr Peters' course was wise and conciliatory—respecting the feelings and prejudices of the old population but pushing his scheme for improvement until it was adopted.⁵¹ He endeavored to secure an equal distribution of favors among the Faubourgs Marigny and St. Mary and the Old City and tried to make his fellow members of the Council realize that only in united action and the recognition of common interests could the city prosper.⁵²

Mr. Peters was made Chairman of the Finance Committee during his second year on the Council.⁶³ The bad management of the city's finances had brought about a deplorable condition.⁵⁴ Although the revenues of the city were known to be adequate, the Council was compelled to issue warrants to meet the ordinary expenditures, and these warrants were sold on the street at ruinous discounts.⁵⁵ Mr. Peters began an investigation of the way in which the city's finances were handled.⁵⁶ Up to this time a mere nominal audit of the books had been made, but the Chairman of the Finance Committee announced his intention of making a thorough check. In spite of numerous obstacles thrown in his

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ William H. Sparks, Memories of Fifty Years (Philadelphia: Claxton, Ramsen & Haffel-finger, 1870), 442.

⁴⁷ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 137.

⁴⁸ Sparks, Memories of Fifty Years, 443.

⁴⁹ Louisiana Advertiser, January 10, 1829.

⁵⁰ Ibid., June 21, 1830.

⁸¹ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 71.

⁵³ Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

⁵³ Louisiana Advertiser, May 4, 1830.

⁵⁴ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 71.

⁵⁵ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 205.

Se Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 71.

way, he carried the investigation back seven years—beyond that books could not be found.⁵⁷ Defalcations to the amount of \$42,792 were uncovered.⁵⁸ One official absconded—another committed suicide—two attempts were made to assassinate the Chairman of the Finance Committee.⁵⁹ The results of this investigation opened the eyes of the Council and the people of New Orleans to the need of reform. Mr. Peters proposed the creation of the office of Comptroller, together with a more businesslike system of administering the City's treasury, thus preventing the recurrence of similar frauds.⁶⁰ Later in the same year Mr. Peters was selected as the agent to go to New York and dispose of an issue of city bonds.⁶¹ In his message of November 10, 1830, to the City Council Mayor Denis Prieur commended Mr. Peters for his skillful management of this business and remarked on the favorable impression he had made in the New York banking circles.⁶²

At the close of his second year on the City Council Mr. Peters retired and in November, 1831, he was nominated as a candidate for State Representative, opposed by Bernard Marigny. The returns of February 2, 1832, gave the election by a small margin to Marigny. Tesults seeming to turn more on the question of Creole versus Anglo-Saxon—still of more importance in New Orleans than division along national party lines.

CHAPTER III

LEADER, DIRECTOR, ORGANIZER

The quarter of a century between 1815 and 1840 might well be called the golden age of New Orleans. A period of great prosperity began² in this city which was just awakening to a realization of its vast possibilities. The advent of steam navigation on the Mississippi River held out to the merchants of the metropolis, and to the newcomers who poured in, a promise of

⁵⁷ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 205.

⁵⁸ Louisiana Advertiser, November 27, 1830.

⁵⁹ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 72.

⁶⁰ Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁸² Louisiana Advertiser, November 10, 1830.

⁶³ Ibid., January 30, 1832.

⁶⁴ Ibid., February 2, 1832.

¹ Henry Rightor, ed., Standard History of New Orleans (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1900), 553.

² Kendall, New Orleans, I, 139.

great wealth in the creation of a commercial empire.³ In the Faubourg St. Mary development continued at a rapid rate and Samuel J. Peters took the lead in every important measure.⁴ In company with James H. Caldwell, Richard O. Pritchard, Cornelius Paulding,⁵ and Thomas Banks he continued the improvement and extension of the city above Canal Street.⁶ Peters, however, did not confine his activities to this section alone—any project that would contribute to the good of the city was certain of getting his cooperation and support.

From his earliest days in New Orleans, Mr. Peters had been conscious of the need of improving the condition of the streets. In 1822, during Mayor Roffignac's administration, Peters had received a contract to cover the streets in certain districts with gravel. This, however, was only a temporary measure and in a short time the streets were again in a deplorable state. New Orleans suffered repeatedly from attacks of yellow fever and cholera.8 In an endeavor to find the cause of these onslaughts it was suggested that paving the streets would contribute to the health of the city.9 On his return to New Orleans in 1831 after disposing of the city bonds in New York, Mr. Peters again brought the matter of paving to the attention of the Council. 10 As this would involve a considerable outlay of city funds and possibly necessitate an additional tax, the measure was vigorously opposed by the Creole element.¹¹ The first objection was to the noise that traffic on paved streets would make. 12 Regarding it from a health standpoint, their argument was that the natives were seldom affected by the disease and if the strangers had stayed away they would not be in any danger. 13 Mr. Peters was not one to give up easily; he persisted in his campaign, with the result that the Council entered into a contract with John Minturn to pave a few streets in the business section.14

4 Kernion, loc. cit, VII, 72.

Spear, Ancient and Modern New Orleans, 36.

³ Waring and Cable, Social Statistics, 43.

⁸ Cornelius Paulding, a merchant, settled in New Orleans in 1813. In 1833 he built a church for the Bantists on St. Charles Street where the Soulé Commercial College was later built, Kendall, New Orleans, III, 713.

⁷ Works Progress Administration, "Biographies of Mayors of New Orleans" (New Orleans, 1939), 23.

⁸ Waring and Cable, Social Statistics, 43.

Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

¹⁰ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 72.

¹¹ Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

¹² Ibid.

¹⁸ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 72.

¹⁴ Louisiana Advertiser, May 30, 1832.

The honor of having the first railroad completed in the South belongs to New Orleans, 15 and much credit should be given to the little group of farsighted individuals who were responsible for it. In 1828 Morris Hoffman¹⁶ conceived the idea of a railroad to connect New Orleans with Lake Pontchartrain. With this in mind he helped to organize the New Orleans Railroad Society.¹⁷ Mr. Hoffman, Samuel J. Peters, Martin Duralde¹⁸ and Maurice S. Cucullu¹⁹ formed the nucleus of the group that in January, 1830, secured from the Legislature a charter to form a company known as the Pontchartrain Railroad Company.20 Its purpose was the construction of a road out Elysian Fields Street from Pontchartrain Junction to Milneburg.21 There was considerable commerce carried on between the country bordering the lake and New Orleans; the lakeshore also constituted the only resort for the pleasure and amusement of the people of New Orleans.²² The plan was not considered feasible by many because much of the road had to be built over swampland and there was a lack of road building material in this level country which made the cost great.23 In addition to the obstacles presented by nature the Company also faced much ridicule and denunciation from both the timid and the wise among the citizenry of New Orleans.24 The work was begun on March 10, 1830, and one year later, April 24, 1831, the railroad was officially opened.25 The road was four and a half miles in length and was perfectly straight.26 In September of the next year a steam engine was imported from England and thus this railroad become the first in the United States to be operated by steam.²⁷ The old engine was equipped with sails for use in the event the steam failed. On the initial trip using steam many of the Negroes on the plantations along

¹⁸ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 73.

New Orleans Annual and Commercial Register (New Orleans: Gaux and Sollee, 1834), 104.

¹⁷ Times Picayune, January 20, 1930.

¹⁸ Martin Duralde was a director of the Union Bank of Louisiana and proprietor of a sawmill at Old Levee and Elmire streets. Michel, Register (1834), 70.

¹⁹ Maurice Simon Cucullu was a member of a mercantile firm, a director of the Pontchartrain Railroad, and president of the Louisiana State Bank. Ibid.

²⁰ Louisiana Acts (1830), 2-10.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Louisiana Advertiser, April 27, 1831.

²³ Ibid., April 25, 1831.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., April 27, 1831.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 73.

the way took to the woods, and it was some time before they became accustomed to "Smoky Mary," as the engine came to be called.²⁸ Mr. Peters served as director of the Pontchartrain Railroad Company for many years and helped to guide its policies in such a way that a newspaper of the element which had opposed the road commended it as being very beneficial to New Orleans and deserving of the protection of the State.²⁹ The Pontchartrain Railroad continued in existence for more than a century, celebrating its hundredth anniversary on January 20, 1930.³⁰ With the advent of newer and faster means of transportation, business fell off and on March 16, 1932, the Pontchartrain Railroad, one of the shortest lines in America, made her last trip. In the coach with the president of the company was Edwin Peters Lastrapes, a greatgrandson of Samuel Jarvis Peters.³¹

From its earliest days New Orleans has always had a fair quota of banks.³² The period from 1820 to 1840 saw the credit system become almost universal. This led to an immense expansion of the banking system.³³ In March, 1831, the Legislature passed an act establishing the City Bank of New Orleans,³⁴ and in the following year, on March 12, 1832, Samuel J. Peters was elected president of this institution by the directors,³⁵ which position he held until 1848. In that year he was called upon to settle the affairs of the City Bank, which, by an admirable arrangement of the stock, capital and business assets, was merged into the State Bank of Louisiana.³⁶ Mr. Peters was chosen as president of the State Bank³⁷ and continued in this capacity up to a few years before his death.

As New Orleans increased in size and population she began to be more conscious of her dignity as a metropolis. One evidence of this was a recognition by the city authorities of their responsibility to provide adequate water and light facilities for the citizens. With the Mississippi River at its back door nothing had been done towards providing the inhabitants with a safe and

²⁸ Times-Picayune, January 20, 1930.

³⁹ New Orleans Bee, November 10, 1835.

³⁰ Times-Picayune, January 20, 1930.

³¹ Ibid., March 16, 1932.

³³ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 142.

³³ Ibid., I, 140.

³⁴ Louisiana Acts (1831), 26-38.

³⁵ Louisiana Advertiser, March 13, 1832.

³⁶ Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

³⁷ New Orleans Daily Delta, February 6, 1849.

sanitary water supply. Drinking water and that used for cooking was taken from the river, carried through the streets in hogsheads mounted on carts, and sold at the rate of four buckets for 61/4¢ or 50¢ per hogshead.38 In 1832 a severe epidemic of cholera broke out in the city.39 A newspaper of the day recorded an average of approximately 1000 deaths a week while the sickness was at its height. 40 In an effort to find the cause of this disease many theories were advanced. One of the more sensible was that the polluted water supply contributed in a great measure to the spread of the cholera.41 In 1830 while on a business trip to New York Mr. Peters had visited the principal water works of the North and obtained all the information necessary for the establishment of water works in New Orleans. 42 In April, 1833, the Commercial Bank of New Orleans was incorporated for the purpose of conveying water from the Mississippi River into the City of New Orleans and its faubourgs and into the houses of its inhabitants.⁴³ This, the company claimed, would contribute to the security of the city from fire and to the health and convenience of its people.44 Under the terms of the charter it was to supply to the city free of charge all the water needed to extinguish fires, wash the streets and gutters, and for use in schools, hospitals and municipal buildings.45 Work was started immediately and by 1837 good, wholesome water was being furnished to the city.46 Mr. Peters served as director of the Commercial Bank until the pressure of other duties caused him to withdraw his active support.47

In November, 1833, the merchants of New Orleans met at Banks' Arcade to discuss plans for forming a Chamber of Commerce. Samuel J. Peters was made the chairman and H. Cammack was elected secretary.⁴⁸ In February of the next year the Legislature passed an act creating a body corporate to be known as the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce.⁴⁹ The purpose of the

³⁸ Paxton, Directory (1822), 41.

³⁹ Louisiana Advertiser, October 26, 1832.

⁴⁰ Ibid., November 5, 1832.

⁴¹ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 133.

⁴⁹ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 73.

⁴⁸ Louisiana Acts (1833), 151-171.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 151.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 167.

⁴⁸ Annual Report of the President of the Commercial Bank of New Orleans, 1848. Copy in Pamphlet Box, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans.

⁴⁷ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 74.

⁴⁸ New Orleans Courier, November 27, 1833.

⁴⁰ Louisiana Acts. (1833-34), 52-53.

organization was to diminish litigation and to establish uniform and equitable charges. This would be to the general advantage of the citizens of the state as well as to the furtherance of the commercial interests. ⁵⁰ In June, 1834, Samuel J. Peters was elected President of the Chamber of Commerce. ⁵¹ He gave liberally of his time and energy to make this organization serve its purpose and by so doing built up the port of New Orleans. DeBow's Review commended the Chamber of Commerce for its influence in commercial circles and the amicable settlement of so many important matters. ⁵²

The trade of New Orleans had been increasing year by year until in 1835 it was valued at \$70,000,000.53 This brought to the city hundreds of transient residents, and the need of providing hotels to accommodate them became more and more evident.⁵⁴ In addition, there was the steady stream of tourists who each winter came to enjoy the climate and scenery of the South.55 There were many boardinghouses, some comfortable and well kept, but with none of the advantage of a public hotel.⁵⁶ In April, 1835, a group of citizens, among whom was Samuel J. Peters, petitioned the Legislature to incorporate the Exchange and Banking Company of New Orleans.⁵⁷ The chief object of this company was to erect a hotel in the city of New Orleans for the better accommodation of visitors and strangers. 58 The Company asked also to be invested with banking privileges.⁵⁹ In 1835 the Exchange Company began the construction of the St. Charles Hotel. 60 It was completed in 1837 at a cost of \$800,000 and was the first large building above Canal Street.⁶¹ The hotel, which had fronts on three streets, was four stories high and had 350 rooms for the accommodation of its guests. It was topped by a dome of beautiful proportions. 62 The

⁵⁰ Ibid., 52.

⁸¹ Decisions of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce (New Orleans: Price-Current Office, 1857), 7.

⁵² DeBow's Review, II, 431.

⁵³ Bee, October 2, 1835.

⁸⁴ Norman, New Orelans and Environs, 74.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 76.

⁵⁶ Sparks, Memories of Fifty Years, 440.

⁵⁷ Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

⁵⁸ Louisiana Acts (1835), 22-23, 197-204.

³⁹ Ibid., 197-204.

_30 Norman, New Orleans and Environs, 137.

⁶¹ Kendall, New Orleans, II, 685.

⁶² Norman, New Orleans and Environs, 140.

St. Charles was the first of the great American hotels and won for New Orleans the reputation of being a most enterprising city.⁶³

In 1835 the trouble between the Creoles and the Americans flared up again—this time over the question of local improvement. 64 The representation in the Council was most unequal, for the section below St. Louis Street, where there were approximately 1100 voters, had five aldermen, while the 1200 voters above Canal Street were permitted to send only two.65 As a result all improvements and repairs were made below Canal Street.66 In the Faubourg St. Mary the lack of paving had increased the cost of staple articles to three or four times the original price. 67 The trade of this section was steadily increasing, but the lack of proper facilities caused serious injury to this commerce. 68 The trouble finally came to a head over the batture question. The levee in front of the Faubourg St. Mary was lined with vessels. By 1835 the extension of the batture had become so great that the wharves could not be reached by the boats. 69 Time and again had the citizens of this faubourg sought help from the Council only to be refused, and the people began to believe that division was the only solution to the problems.70 A meeting was held in Banks' Arcade to petition the Legislature to form a separate corporation of the 6th and 7th wards. 71 Samuel J. Peters, as one of the leaders in the Faubourg St. Mary, vigorously opposed the idea of division.⁷² He argued that it would mean heavier taxation for the individual corporation; that the Faubourg St. Mary possessed no sources of revenue except those it created; that its streets were unpaved and its wharves were useless.73 In spite of these sound arguments, the matter was carried to the Legislature and rejected on the same grounds advanced by Peters. 74 In October, 1835, the property holders and merchants of the Faubourg St.

⁶³ Kendall, New Orleans, II, 685.

⁶⁴ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 75.

⁶⁵ Louisiana Advertiser, March 19, 1835.

⁶⁶ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 75.

⁶⁷ Louisiana Advertiser, February 12, 1834.

⁶⁸ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 75.

⁶⁹ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 137.

⁷⁰ Louisiana Advertiser, March 19, 1835.

⁷¹ Ibid., February 25, 1835.

⁷² Kendall, New Orleans, I, 137.

⁷⁸ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 76.

⁷⁴ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 137.

Mary held another meeting and discussed a memorial, drawn up by Samuel J. Peters, which they planned to present to the City Council. 75 This memorial set forth the grievances of the people regarding the lack of trade facilities other than those erected by individual enterprise, and asked that a new wharf be constructed over the batture and the old wharves be repaired. 76 The cost of the work, about \$100,000, would be advanced by the merchants themselves, to be refunded by the City in ten to twenty years at five percent interest.77 The Council rejected this memorial, as they claimed that the City had already expended a great amount for paving and lighting the Faubourg St. Mary.78 Feeling that there was no longer any ground for hope or justice Mr. Peters set to work to devise a plan for a city government which would secure all the advantages of a separate city and at the same time avoid the dangers.79 In accordance with a plan presented to the Legislature, a new charter was handed down by that body.80 It divided the city of New Orleans into three separate municipalities, each having a distinct government with many independent powers yet having a Mayor and General Council with certain superior authority.81 The Charter of 1836 was a strange experiment in city government.82 As the General Council met only once a year and had very limited powers,83 the fate of each municipality rested squarely on its own group of officials. The next few years saw a great increase in the population, trade and revenue of the Second Municipality, as the Faubourg St. Mary was now called.84 The credit for much of this must go to Samuel J. Peters who by his powers of organization and administration infused great life and vigor into the Council of the Second Municipality.85 He directed the affairs of this section in such a way that it became the wealthiest and most progressive of the municipalities.86

⁷⁵ Bee, October 19, 1835.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid., October 28, 1835.

⁷⁹ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 77.

⁸⁰ Louisiana Acts (1836), 28-37.

⁸¹ Ibid., 28.

⁸² Kendall, New Orleans, I, 137.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Daily Picayune, November 28, 1897.

⁸⁸ Coleman, Historical Sketch Book, 306.

^{**} Ibid., 307.

CHAPTER IV

BUILDING THE SECOND MUNICIPALITY

The American element of the population hailed the adoption of the new charter with great enthusiasm. It would allow them to transact their business after their own way and to expend, in erection of public buildings and other improvements, the taxes which had been exacted without an adequate return. The first meeting of the Council of the Second Municipality was held on April 30, 1836. The Council was composed of Joshua Baldwin, recorder, and seven aldermen. James P. Freret and Thomas Meux represented the first ward; Samuel Jarvis Peters, Thomas Sloo and Edward Yorke the second ward; W. J. Hepp and V. Burthe the third ward. James H. Caldwell was named to the Council at the second meeting when it was learned that the first ward was entitled to three representatives.

From the very first meeting Samuel Jarvis Peters assumed the leadership of this body and started the Second Municipality on its course of improvement. He drew up a set of rules and regulations for the government of the Council and was appointed to draft a plan for a Treasury Department.¹² As funds were needed to carry on the business of government, Mr. Peters proposed a loan for \$100,000 to be secured by the bonds of the Municipality.¹³ At a second meeting held on May 3, 1836, he was appointed Chairman of the Finance Committee,¹⁴ in which capacity he continued during his fourteen years of service on

¹ Kendall, New Orleans, I. 139.

³ H. Didimus (pseud. for Edward H. Durell), New Orleans As I Found It (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845), 21.

³ Proceedings of the Council of the Second Municipality, 1836-1840. April 30, 1836 (New Orleans City Hall Archives). Cited hereafter as Proceedings.

⁴ Joshua Baldwin, director of the Union Insurance Company; Orleans Steam Cotton Press. Gibson, ed., New Orleans Directory (1838), 352.

⁵ James P. Freret, member of the firm of Freret Brothers, cotton yard; residence 117 Carondelet Street. Ibid., 79.

⁶ Thomas Meux, doctor; chairman of the Commercial Water Works; residence 29 Magazine Street. *Ibid.*, 145.

⁷Thomas Sloo, member of the firm of Sloo and Byrne, commercial merchants, 1503 Tehoupitoulas Street. *Ibid.*, 190.

⁸ Edward Yorke, president of the Exchange and Banking Company; member of the firm of Yorke Brothers, 65 Camp Street; residence 125 Julia Street. *Ibid.*, 218.

⁹ W. J. Hepp, director of the Orleans Steam Cotton Press; residence Ann Street, corner of Edward. *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁰ Victor Burthe, attorney-at-law; residence 172 Royal Street. Ibid., 33.

¹¹ Proceedings, May 3, 1836.

¹⁹ Ibid., April 30, 1836.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., May 3, 1836.

the Council. He was also made a member of the Committee on Streets and Landings which began to function immediately. ¹⁵ As the streets and wharves of the Second Municipality had received little attention under the old regime, Mr. Peters urged that the paving of streets and repairs to the wharves be authorized by the Council without delay. ¹⁶ At the same time he began work on a plan to improve the port in front of the Second Municipality. ¹⁷ That the facilities of the port might be used to the best advantage it was decided to reserve the part from Canal Street to Julia Street for steamboats; pirogues and flatboats were to anchor between Julia and Delord streets; all the rest of the river front from Delord Street to the upper line of the Municipality was set aside for ships and steam vessels. ¹⁸

The Council leased the building belonging to Cornelius Paulding and located at St. Charles and Hevia streets for the use of the municipality. In February of the next year, however, Samuel J. Peters proposed that a Municipal Hall be erected and he asked that a committee be appointed to prepare a plan for the building and to estimate the cost. Caldwell, Yorke and Peters were chosen for this committee and in March, 1837, they reported that a plan submitted by Dakin, Bell and Dakin had been selected. The Council approved the plan, but owing to the financial condition of the city in 1837 construction was delayed for some time.

The New Orleans police force, called "gendarme" or City Guard, had been for some years the subject of much criticism.²⁴ This force, composed chiefly of foreigners, was reputed to be inefficient, useless and irresponsible.²⁵ The editor of the *Bee* complained that citizens were continually liable to insults and arrests at the hands of the guard.²⁶ Many of the people felt that it was time to dispense with sword, musket and Falstaffian costume

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., May 10, 1836.

¹⁸ Ibid., May 27, 1836.

Ibid., May 3, 1836.
 Ibid., February 7, 1837.

³¹ Dakin, Bell and Dakin was a firm of architects who designed many of the public buildings of this time, notably St. Patrick's Church, the Verandah Hotel, Merchants' Exchange and many others. Norman, New Orleans and Environs, 95, 141, 161.

²² Proceedings, March 4, 1837.

³³ Gibson, Directory (1838), 321.

²⁴ Castellanos, New Orleans As It Was, 163.

²⁶ Louisiana Advertiser, February 14, 1834.

²⁶ Bee, March 13, 1835.

and adopt a system more in keeping with a free, prosperous people.²⁷ Mr. Peters, who shared this view, proposed that all ordinances of the old City Council creating a City Guard be repealed and that as soon as possible a new system be instituted.²⁸ To secure protection for the people an organization of Day Police, consisting of intelligent and discreet men, was formed under the command of a High Constable.²⁹ In addition to this there was a Night Watch made up of a captain, two lieutenants and a number of watchmen.³⁰ The people of the Second Municipality were very pleased to be relieved of the armed patrol that had itself been a menace to the peace and safety of the community.³¹

Mr. Peters was one of the first merchants to move his office to Canal Street, which was soon to become the commercial center of New Orleans. Chartres Street had held this position until 1839. In that year the rents on property there were raised fifteen percent by the agents of the owners who resided abroad.³² Prominent businessmen like A. D. Crossman,³³ John Minturn³⁴ and Samuel Jarvis Peters refused to accept these increases and decided to locate on or above Canal Street.³⁵ It was not long before others followed their lead and Canal Street became the center of business and the great boulevard of the city.³⁶

Two large cotton presses, Freret's and Dubry's, located on St. Charles Street, were interfering with the development of the commercial section of the Municipality.³⁷ Mr. Peters, as the head of the committee appointed to investigate this condition, advised that they be removed farther uptown.³⁸ The Council named him as the agent to approach the owners with the idea of selling the land and buildings to the Municipality.³⁹ This transaction was completed satisfactorily in September, 1836.⁴⁰ The

²⁷ Louisiana Advertiser, February 14, 1834.

²⁸ Proceedings, May 17, 1836.

²⁹ Ibid., June 30, 1836.

³⁰ Ibid., July 1, 1836.

³¹ New Orleans True American, October 15, 1839.

³² Kendall, New Orleans, I, 140.

³³ Abdiel Daily Crossman was a native of Maine. He came to New Orleans in 1829 and located his business on Canal Street. He soon became a personage of importance in financial affairs. He was elected mayor in 1846 and served two terms. Ibid., I, 160.

³⁴ John Minturn, a contractor, was given the contract for most of the paving in the Second Municipality.

³⁵ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 140.

³⁶ Sparks, Memories of Fifty Years, 444.

³⁷ Proceedings, July 28, 1836.

³⁸ True American, August 4, 1836.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., September 10, 1836.

following year the land was divided into lots and sold at public auction with a profit to the Municipality of \$60,000.⁴¹ To encourage the erection of cotton presses and tobacco warehouses at suitable places within the Second Municipality, Mr. Peters proposed that such companies be entitled to a loan of the bonds of the city.⁴² This offer was accepted almost immediately and a short time later a newspaper remarked on the number of cotton presses and tobacco warehouses⁴³ as evidence of the prosperity of the Municipality.

In his first report as Chairman of the Finance Committee Mr. Peters announced the income of the Second Municipality to be \$210,000 and the expenditures \$60,000.44 He stated that the next year would see twenty percent increase in the revenues, due to a new tax on real estate and additional returns from the port. 45 The Committee advised that any surplus be devoted to opening and paving more streets and to improving the wharves. 46 In a later report he warned that the building of a city, which, in reality they were doing, called for an immense outlay of money above the current expenditures.47 The Council must of necessity incur a debt if a great city were to rise above Canal Street. The newspapers of the day reflect the feeling of the people in regard to the Second Municipality. "More work," said one, "has been done in the last eight months than had been talked about for the last eighteeen years."48 The editor of another paper rightly gives the credit for much of this progress to the aldermen whose wise and prudent measures had occasioned it.49 And Mr. Peters was recognized as the leading spirit of the Council, so much so that a French newspaper is said to have pictured him as Atlas holding the Second Municipality on his shoulders. 50

The batture in front of the Second Municipality was the next problem to be presented to the Council. There had been considerable litigation over these deposits from the early days of New Orleans history.⁵¹ In October, 1838, the Orleans Cotton

⁴¹ Ibid., February 7, 1837.

⁴² Ibid., September 22, 1836.

⁴³ New Orleans Commercial Bulletin, February 21, 1837.

⁴⁴ Proceedings, July 14, 1836.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., December 13, 1836.

⁴⁸ Picayune, February 5, 1837.

⁴⁹ Commercial Bulletin, February 21, 1837.

^{.80} Biographical sketch in New Orleans Times-Democrat, July 7, 1912.

⁵¹ New Orleans Daily Crescent, March 21, 1848.

Press advanced a claim to the 634 feet of batture in front of the Press. The Company considered this as its exclusive property and planned to enclose the land and build on it.52 Mr. Peters, as head of the Finance Committee to which the matter was referred, argued that all the batture belonged to the Municipality.53 He pointed out that the owners of the front lots were not burdened with additional taxes for keeping the levees in repair. The batture had cost the city \$40,000, a sum which the Council hoped to recover by the sale of the ground being formed by the river.54 An opinion rendered by Richard Carter, the attorney for the city, agreed with that of Mr. Peters.55 The alluvial deposits belonged to the public and not to the front owners. In January, Judge Charles Maurin handed down a decision in favor of the Second Municipality.⁵⁶ Samuel J. Peters was credited with being the individual most active in prosecuting the rights of the Municipality.⁵⁷ His able report as Chairman of the Finance Committee influenced the Council to take the case to court. 58 This decision, however, did not end the batture controversy. Its recurrence became almost as regular as the rise of the river. In his annual financial report of 1846 Mr. Peters recommended that the batture be divided into lots and sold. The profits from this transaction, he said, would pay the entire debt of the Municipality. 60 Mr. Peters visualized this land covered with warehouses and stores which would enrich the city and add to the value of property by the concentration of business in one section.61 Mr. Peters continued the fight to effect some arrangement by which the ground in front of the Municipality could be made available to the city. In 1850 a bill was passed which contained the ideas that he had advocated. The land was to be sold and the profits divided in this manner: one-third to be set aside to extinguish the debt of the city; the remaining two-thirds to revert to the municipality, and the city officials could decide what portion would be allowed to the parties of the Compromise of 1820.62 Mr

⁵² Proceedings, October 23, 1838.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., October 19, 1838.

⁸⁰ Commercial Bulletin, January 25, 1840.

⁸⁷ Thid.

⁵⁸ DeBow's Review, III, 114.

⁵⁰ Report of the Committee on Finance, 1846. Copy in Pamphlet Box, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

el Ibid.

⁶² Louisiana Acts (1850), 197-198.

Peters was commended for his earnest efforts in the matter which had extended over a period of twelve years and were at last crowned with success.⁶³

And so the Second Municipality was well on its way to becoming a prosperous city. New market houses were erected; streets were opened and lighted with gas; paving continued at a rapid rate and the improved condition of the wharves was attracting new shipping to this section.64 In all such enterprises and projects Samuel J. Peters was the conspicuous leader. 65 He was not afraid to assume the responsibility for these ventures, many times persuading his fellow aldermen to pass measures over the veto of the mayor.66 The Council encountered some opposition from Mayor Genois⁶⁷ who was displeased with what he considered the highhanded tactics of the officers of the Second Municipality. In April, 1840, the mayor, defeated in the municipal election, refused to administer the oath to Aldermen Samuel Jarvis Peters and Henry Lockett who had been returned to office. 68 Moreover, he would not make public his reasons for this action. An open meeting was held at which it was brought out that the mayor had no authority to pass on the election of aldermen, as this would give him control over the Council. If they were duly elected by the people it was his duty to administer the oath without question. 69 As Denis Prieur was to take the office of mayor in a short time, it was decided not to take the case to court. The matter was referred to the attorney for the Municipality, Edwin Rawle, who reported that the oath could be administered by any judge, recorder or magistrate. 70 Accordingly, at the next meeting of the Council, Samuel Jarvis Peters and Henry Lockett were sworn in by Recorder Baldwin and seated.71

Occupied as he was with these numerous projects for developing the Second Municipality, Samuel Jarvis Peters was planning still another one which was to be by far the most lasting

⁶³ Commercial Bulletin, March 30, 1850.

⁴⁴ Ibid., February 21, 1837.

⁶⁵ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 89.

⁶⁶ Proceedings, February 14, 1837; June 1, 1842.

⁶⁷ Charles Genois was mayor of New Orleans from 1838 to 1840. The financial condition of the city was precarious and the municipal debt was one of the major problems of his administration. Kendall, New Orleans, I, 145.

⁶⁸ Picayune, April 14, 1840.

⁶⁰ Ibid., April 17, 1840.

⁷⁰ Ibid., April 24, 1840.

⁷¹ Ibid., April 25, 1840.

and the most worthwhile. He believed that every child was entitled to an education and that it was the duty of the authorities to provide the necessary schools. The Louisiana Legislature had passed in 1841 an act requiring each municipality to establish one or more public schools within its limits.72 Mr. Peters proposed that the Council of the Second Municipality create a Board of Directors together with a Committee on Public Education to study the needs of the section and decide on a course to be followed.⁷³ At the first meeting, held on May 15, 1841, it was decided not to build on the old system but to begin anew.74 Mr. Peters had traveled extensively through the New England States studying the school system of this section which was reputed to be the best in the country. While on this visit he had become acquainted with Horace Mann. 75 Mr. Peters advised the Board of Education to contact this eminent educator and ask him to recommend some person capable of launching a system of public schools in the Second Municipality.76 This was done and John A. Shaw of Bridgeport, Massachusetts, was selected as the first superintendent.⁷⁷ Mr. Shaw arrived in New Orleans at the close of 1841 and under his auspicies a school of twenty-six pupils was opened. 78 People of this section did not take kindly to the idea of public schools. They regarded them as charity institutions and refused to send their children to them. 79 This prejudice was gradually overcome as the character of the new system was recognized, so that by the end of the first year 840 children were registered.80 The attendance doubled during the second year and from then on the school system of Municipality Number Two continued to increase in size and improve in quality. Mr. Peters took a lively interest in this progress, served as a director for many years, and was ever alert to any new ideas that might benefit the system. By 1846 there were 3000 children registered in the five schools of the Second Municipality, at a cost to the

⁷² Louisiana Acts (1841), 21.

⁷³ Annual Report of the Council of Municipality Number Two on the Condition of Its Public Schools (1842). Copy in Pamphlet Box, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 89.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Annual Report on Public Schools (1842).

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid., (1843).

so DeBow's Review, I, 83.

citizens of about \$6 per pupil.⁸¹ New Orleans could truly be proud of this excellent system in which every child could secure a fair and liberal education.⁸²

Mr. Peters proposed the creation of a Public School Library to be built up by the voluntary contributions of the pupils of the public schools.⁸³ This splendid idea was adopted by the Council, and in October, 1845, the Library was opened.⁸⁴ It contained 5000 volumes, many of which had been carefully selected by Mr. Peters on a visit to New York.⁸⁵ Pupils of the schools could become life members by the payment of \$3 for three consecutive years, and any adult upon the payment of \$5 annual dues was privileged to use the library facilities.⁸⁶

Thus Mr. Peters is rightly called the "Father of Public Education in New Orleans." In May, 1847, a number of the leading citizens assembled at a dinner in his honor. Mr. J. W. Stanton, who was the chief speaker, recounted the many ways in which Samuel Jarvis Peters had served his city. The great enterprises and improvements that had converted a swamp into a beautiful city bore testimony to his talents and energy. Mr. Stanton's closing remarks were indeed prophetic: "When all other labors have been forgotten—edifices built are crumbled in dust—the public school system which you originated will be a monument for immortality." At this dinner Mr. Peters was presented a magnificent service of plate. Engraved on each piece was this inscription: "Presented to Samuel Jarvis Peters by his fellow citizens in consideration of his great public service and zeal in the cause of public education."

The Municipal Hall which had ben proposed by Mr. Peters in 1837 was still little more than a dream. In 1841 the Council ordered payment of \$500 to Dakin, Bell and Dakin and released the firm from the agreement made in 1837. Two years later

⁸¹ Annual Report on Public Schools (1846). Copy in Pamphlet Box, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans.

⁸² DeBow's Review, I, 83.

⁸⁸ Times-Democrat, July 7, 1912.

⁸⁴ Commercial Bulletin, October 17, 1845.

⁸⁵ Daily Delta, October 15, 1845.

⁸⁶ Commercial Bulletin, January 25, 1847.

⁸⁷ Times-Democrat, July 7, 1912.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

so Ibid.

^{*}O This silver service was left by Mr. Peters in his will to his eldest grandchild, Delphine LeBlanc, the wife of Judge James McConnell. Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ordinance of the Second Municipality, May 25, 1841. New Orleans City Hall Archives.

James Gallier, Sr., was instructed to draw up plans and to superintend the construction of the Hall.93 The work went forward until the basement of granite was completed, when again building operations ceased because of financial difficulties.94 As the structure was in danger of being sold Mr. Peters took it upon himself, as an individual and not a councilman, to address a letter to the president of the Bank of Louisiana.95 He pointed out the great sacrifice which would result from a forced sale at this time and asked that the notes be renewed for another year, at which time the finances would be improved. Mr. Benjamin Story, the bank president, agreed to this request, being satisfied with the financial judgment of Mr. Peters. 96 A temporary roof was put on the basement and there was no further building for several years. 97 In 1851 a great fire destroyed the St. Charles Hotel.98 The stockholders were anxious to acquire the unfinished Municipal Hall and construct a new hotel. Some of the members of the Council were willing to sell, but the plan was opposed by Samuel J. Peters and other public-spirited men.99 Mr. Peters promised that he would become personally responsible for whatever funds were needed to complete and equip the building.100 He regarded the proposed sale as lacking the spirit that had created, built up and made the Second Municipality the wealthiest and most progressive section.101 His offer was accepted and the building was completed and occupied in 1853.102 By that time the three municipalities had been reunited and the Municipal Hall of the Second Municipality became the center of government for the City of New Orleans. 103

In 1846 war broke out between the United States and Mexico. New Orleans, due to its location, was vitally interested in this struggle. On May 4, 1846, a meeting was held in the New Commercial Exchange on St. Charles Street.¹⁰⁴ Colonel William

⁹³ Frank Riley, "City Hall and Auxiliary Buildings," 3. Manuscript in New Orleans City Hall Archives. Cited hereafter as Riley, "City Hall".

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Daily Delta, January 6, 1847.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

of Riley, "City Hall", 4.

⁹⁸ Commercial Bulletin, January 20, 1851.

⁹⁹ Riley, "City Hall", 4.

¹⁰⁰ John Coleman, "City Hall", article in Louisiana Scrap Book, VI, in Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Riley, "City Hall", 6.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 7.

¹⁰⁴ Daily Delta, May 5, 1846.

Christy¹⁰⁵ was chosen president and Samuel J. Peters was one of the vice-presidents. The purpose of the meeting was to advise Brigadier General Zachary Taylor that four regiments of infantry had been organized in New Orleans and were at the service of the Army of Occupation. 106 Mr. Peters took a vigorous part in the activities connected with the successful prosecution of the war. Early in 1847 he proposed to the Council that the City make plans for the reception of General Taylor. 107 Mr. Peters was chosen as one of the committee to work with the mayor on this reception. 108 At the ceremony on December 8, 1847, when General Taylor was presented a sword from the people of Louisiana, Mr. Peters proposed a toast to the famous soldier. He remarked on the kindness and consideration with which the General had received the committee and had agreed to their plans, despite the fact that he was averse to display of any kind. He paid tribute to these qualities in his toast: "Our illustrious guest Rough and Ready-always rough in encounters with our enemies-always ready to accede to the wishes of his countrymen."109

In February, 1848, the Taylor State Convention met in New Orleans. 110 Judge Thomas W. Chinn 111 was chosen president and Samuel J. Peters was one of the vice-presidents. Later in the same year Mr. Peters traveled to Philadelphia as one of Louisiana's delegates to the Whig National Convention. 112 He took a prominent part in the discussions at this meeting which resulted in the naming of Zachary Taylor as the candidate for President of the United States on the Whig ticket. On his return to New Orleans Samuel Jarvis Peters was active in the city and state campaigns. 113 This led to the rumor that Mr. Peters would be included in President Taylor's Cabinet. The office of Secretary of the Treasury, it was said, was admirably suited to his talents. 114

¹⁰⁵ William Christy was a native of Kentucky. He left the study of law to join the army where he remained until 1816. He came to New Orleans and engaged in trade as a tobacco merchant. Later he renewed the study of law and was admitted to the bar. He was a very patriotic and progressive citizen. National Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York: James T. White & Co., 1898-1944), XI, 456. Cited hereafter as National Cyclopaedia.

¹⁰⁸ Daily Delta, May 5, 1847.

¹⁰⁷ Commercial Bulletin, November 16, 1847.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., November 23, 1847.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., December 8, 1847.

¹¹⁰ Daily Delta, February 23, 1848.

¹¹¹ Thomas Wither Chinn was a native of Kentucky, where he was educated and studied law. He moved to Louisiana where he practiced his profession in New Orleans. He was elected as a representativ to Congress in 1838 and served from 1839 to 1841. In 1849 he was appointed chargé d'affaires to the Two Sicilies. National Cyclopaedia, XII, 25.

¹¹³ Commercial Bulletin, March 16, 1848.

¹¹³ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 89.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., VII, 91.

newspaper of the day, comparing him with Jacob Barker,¹¹⁵ a rival for the post, characterized Mr. Peters as the wariest financier in the Union. Mr. Barker, it was said, was democratic, war-like—a propagandist. Mr. Peters, on the other hand, was conservative, skeptical, aristocratic. He was a student and a reader of works on political economy.¹¹⁶ The Bulletin pointed out that since Mr. Taylor himself was a Louisianian, it was not likely that a Southerner would be included in the Cabinet.¹¹⁷ This proved to be the correct view of the situation, for when President Taylor announced his Cabinet neither Peters nor Barker was appointed. The fact that he was mentioned as a possible appointee proves that his fellow citizens recognized his talents as a financier as well as his executive ability.

In April, 1849, Mr. Peters was notified that he had been named Collector of Customs for the Port of New Orleans by President Taylor. 118 He took office immediately, but this appointment was not permanent until confirmed by the Senate. The Committee of Commerce to which these nominations were referred rejected Mr. Peters. The reasons given were that he was a partner in a business engaged in trade and was in addition the president of a large bank.¹¹⁹ The true facts of the case were that it was the result of a strict party vote. The Democrats on the Committee, led by Pierre Soulé, had the majority vote and were able to defeat the Whig Senators, every one of whom voted for Mr. Peters. 120 This rejection was considered a serious misfortune to the commerce of New Orleans, particularly to the honest and fair importers. Though he held the office for only eighteen months, he had already detected numerous frauds, and by means of forfeitures, extra fines and duties he was beginning to prevent their recurrence. 121 The officers and clerks of the Custom House presented him with a silver service as a testimony of their regard and esteem both as a public officer and a private citizen. Mr. E. Solomon who made the presentation spoke of the able way in which Mr. Peters had discharged his duties, as well as his courteous manner which made their official intercourse pleasant

¹¹⁵ Jacob Barker was born in Maine, December 17, 1779. He came to New Orleans in 1834, studied law and was admitted to the bar. He became one of the leading capitalists of the South. Dictionary of American Biography, I, 602-603.

¹¹⁶ Daily Delta, November 29, 1848.

¹¹⁷ Commercial Bulletin, December 9, 1848.

¹¹⁸ Peters Papers, Lastrapes Collection.

¹¹⁰ Commercial Bulletin, September 11, 1850.

¹²⁰ Baton Rouge Gazette, October 6, 1850.

¹²¹ Commercial Bulletin, September 30, 1850.

and cheerful.¹²² This was but one more evidence of the esteem in which his contemporaries held Samuel Jarvis Peters who had done so much for his city with no thought of reward other than the satisfaction of a duty well done.

CHAPTER V

LAST YEARS

The Charter of 1836 which had divided the city of New Orleans into three municipalities was the idea of local self-government pushed to the extreme. The sixteen years of subdivision proved to both Creole and American the value of unity.2 Many public improvements were made during this period;3 the Second Municipality in particular could point with pride to new market houses, paved streets, public buildings and improved levees.4 At the same time the system afforded great opportunity for corruption and extravagance and it soon became evident that some reform was needed.⁵ As early as 1850 a bill was introduced into the Legislature providing for a change in the charter of the city.6 The people of the Second Municipality, for the most part, were opposed to the idea of consolidation. Samuel Jarvis Peters was one of the leaders in this fight. Though he had been against the act of separation in 1836, he had come to believe that the Second Municipality was better off as an independent section.8 The bill of 1850 provided that the question of consolidation must be voted upon by the citizens of New Orleans.9 Accordingly in April, 1850, an election was held to decide this issue. 10 The Commercial Bulletin urged the people of the Second Municipality to vote against consolidation, as it would mean the surrender of all control over their schools, lyceum, library and other public works. 11 Another newspaper recalled that before 1836 the city

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., October 10, 1850.

¹ William W. Howe, "Municipal History of New Orleans," in Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, VI (1889), No. 4, p. 15.

Waring and Cable, Social Statistics, 54.

³ Howe, loc. cit., VI, No. 4, p. 15.

⁴ Daily Crescent, April 22, 1850. ⁵ Howe, loc. cit., VI, No. 4, p. 16.

⁶ Louisiana Acts (1850), 156-169.

⁷ Commercial Bulletin, January 30, 1850.

⁸ Daily Crescent, May 15, 1850.

⁹ Kendall, New Orleans, I, 172.

¹⁰ Louisiana Acts (1850), 191-192.

¹¹ Commercial Bulletin, April 6, 1850.

above Canal Street had paid the majority of the taxes but not a dollar had been spent there on public improvements.¹² Separation had brought prosperity. These papers undoubtedly reflected the mind of the people of the American Quarter for the vote of the Second Municipality on April 9, 1850, was overwhelmingly against consolidation.¹³ The combined vote of the First and Third Municipalities in favor of the measure was strong enough to override this opposition. In 1852, by an act of the Legislature at that session, the three municipalities were reunited by a new charter and stringent provisions were made for funding the combined debt.¹⁴

Mr. Peters had been returned to office as alderman from the Sixth Ward in the election of 1850.¹⁵ So strong, however, were his feelings against the act of the Legislature that in May, 1850, he announced his retirement from the Council.¹⁶ In a letter to his constituents he thanked them for the honor accorded him in keeping him as their representative.¹⁷ His destiny, he said, had been connected with New Orleans by choice as well as by circumstance. He believed that the Second Municipality had shown itself capable of handling its own affairs, as evidenced by the numerous improvements made. To do this a necessary debt was incurred but the means of paying the debt had also been provided. The act of the Legislature by abolishing the sinking fund prohibited the people from doing what they wished to do. Under such a system Mr. Peters believed he could not work and so he had decided to tender his resignation.¹⁸

That his action was received with regret is seen by an editorial in a leading newspaper. The career of Mr. Peters as an alderman, it stated, was a long and arduous one. During his fourteen years on the council he had worked earnestly to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Municipality. His efforts were at times repaid with reproach and detraction but in time their true value would be appreciated. Another paper, commenting on his retirement, gave him credit for the great city which had sprung up in the short period of six or eight years. The increase in

¹² Daily Crescent, April 8, 1850.

¹⁸ Ibid., April 9, 1850.

¹⁴ Louisiana Acts (1852), 42-55.

¹⁸ Daily Crescent, April 23, 1850.

¹⁶ Commercial Bulletin, May 15, 1850.

¹⁷ Daily Crescent, May 15, 1850.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

population and trade, and the resulting increase in revenues, were in a great measure the result of his efforts. His work for the schools, library and lyceum were spoken of in glowing terms. In closing this tribute the editor assured Mr. Peters he carried with him the respect and confidence of the community which was grateful for his long, faithful and efficient service.²⁰

On May 24, 1850, the leading citizens of New Orleans assembled at the Verandah Hotel²¹ to pay honor to Mr. Peters at a dinner.²² Mr. H. R. Hill²³ was the president of this group, assisted by Joshua Baldwin, C. Bullitt,24 L. Matthews,25 Peter Conrey, Jr., 26 and R. M. McAlpin²⁷ as vice-presidents. The walls of the room were decorated with scrolls outlined by flowers on which were printed the names of the various activities which Mr. Peters had sponsored.²⁸ In his toast to the guest of Honor, Mr. Thomas Hunt²⁹ addressed Samuel Jarvis Peters as the "Father of the Second Municipality." He had devoted his time and talents without fee or reward to advance the interests of that section. The respect, gratitude and good wishes of his constituents followed him into his retirement.30 Mr. Peters, replying to this toast, told of the reasons for the separation. The present prosperity of the Second Municipality was ample reason for satisfaction with the course they had followed. The future of the city, he said, rested in the hands of the present generation. They should exert themselves to secure the advantages which nature had placed in their reach—establish railroads, manufactories and other works of public improvement and so retain the blessing of a beneficient Providence.31 The ladies of the Second Munici-

²⁰ Commercial Bulletin, May 16, 1850.

²¹ The Verandah Hotel was located at the corner of St. Charles and Common streets. It was designed as a family hotel by its projector and builder, Richard O. Pritchard. Pitts and Clarke, eds., New Orleans Directory (1842), 67-68.

²² Commercial Bulletin, May 16, 1850.

 ²³ Harry R. W. Hill was an important merchant in New Orleans. He was well known as a promoter of public works. Cohen, ed., New Orleans Directory (1853), xxii.
 ²⁴ C. Bullitt, commercial merchant, 165 St. Charles Street. Ibid., 40.

²⁵ L. Matthews, member of the firm of Finley, Matthews and Company, bankers and exchange dealers. Ibid., 180.

²⁶ Peter Conrey, Jr., 121 Canal Street; residence on Appollo between Terpsichore and Euterpe streets. *Ibid.*, 58.

²⁷ R. M. McAlphin, attorney-at-law, 3 St. Charles Street. Ibid., 167.

²⁸ Commercial Bulletin, May 25, 1850.

²⁰ Colonel Thomas F. Hunt was a native of North Carolina. He jointed the army during the War of 1812, and in 1817 was ordered to New Orleans where he remained for many years as deputy quartermaster general. Cohen, Directory (1853), xxxi.

³⁰ Commercial Bulletin, May 25, 1850.

³¹ Ibid.

pality sent to Mr. Peters a bouquet of monster size as evidence of their hearty approval of his past conduct and warm wishes for his future welfare and happiness.³²

And so Samuel Jarvis Peters' career as an alderman came to a close. Though he was no longer actively concerned in the municipal government, he still maintained his interest in the development of the city. One project in which he continued to be the leading spirit was the proposed route to the Pacific across the Tehuantepec isthmus.³³ At a big public meeting held in 1849 to discuss several proposed routes, Governor Issac Johnson presided and Samuel Jarvis Peters, A. D. Crossman and Joseph Genois served as vice-presidents.³⁴ In 1950 Judah P. Benjamin, J. P. Lapeyre, S. J. Peters and severed other secured extensive rights and privileges across the Tehuantepec isthumus.³⁵ Surveys were begun by the United States engineers and enthusiasm for this project ran high. The Mexican government, however, refused to recognize the validity of the grants and the plan was finally abandoned.³⁶

In February, 1849, Mr. Peters was elected President of the Louisiana State Bank.³⁷ There had been a spirited contest over this election, in which the Creole faction supported General J. B. B. Vignie³⁸ against Mr. Peters, the American candidate.³⁹ Mr. Peters held this position until a short time before his death and directed the affairs of this institution in a wise and judicious manner.⁴⁰ It was in this same year that the cornerstone of the new Custom House was laid and Mr. Peters took a prominent part in the ceremonies.⁴¹

Samuel Jarvis Peters was active in many social and fraternal organizations of the city. He was for many years an officer in the New England Society of Louisiana, of which organization he

³² Ibid.

³³ The Isthmus of Tehuantepec is in the extreme southern part of Mexico. The Gadsden Treaty of 1853 granted to the United States certain transit rights across this isthmus. Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1940), 289. footnote.

³⁴ Commercial Bulletin, October 6, 1849.

³⁸ Waring and Cable, Social Statistics, 54.

³⁶ Commercial Bulletin, August 9, 1851.

³⁷ Daily Delta, February 6, 1849.

³⁸ J. B. B. Vignie served as president of the Louisiana State Bank for several years. Gibson, Directory.

³⁰ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 92.

⁴⁰ The directory for 1853 lists him as president of the Louisiana State Bank. Cohen, Directory (1853), 146.

⁴¹ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 92.

was a charter member. 42 The Louisiana branch of this society was organized in New Orleans in January, 1842.43 The membership included any native of New England resident in New Orleans or any direct descendant of a New Englander. Its purpose was to foster among its members friendship and good feelings and to assist the destitute and those worthy of charity from the New England States.44 At the first meeting held in January, 1842, Henry A. Bullard⁴⁵ was elected president and Samuel Jarvis Peters was selected as one of the vice-presidents.46 Among the names on the rolls of the society could be found such distinguished citizens as the Reverend Theodore Clapp, 47 Thomas Chinn, A. D. Crossman, and Judge Porter, 48 as well as many other leaders in the business and civic life of New Orleans. At the first anniversary dinner of the society held on December 22, 1842, Henry Clay was the guest of honor.49 Each succeeding year on December 22, the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, the members of the New England Society would gather at the St. Charles Hotel for a meeting at which officers would be elected, after which they would partake of a sumptuous dinner.50 The name of Samuel Jarvis Peters was prominent in all of these activities up to the time of his death.

Samuel Jarvis Peters was a loyal Whig and worked earnestly in the support of the party at every election.⁵¹ In addition to his position as alderman he had at one time been mentioned as a

⁴² Constitution of the New England Society of Louisiana, with an Oration Delivered before the Society, Feb. 22, 1845, by Hon. S. S. Prentiss (New Orleans, 1851). Copy in Pamphlet Box in Louisiana Room, Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

⁴⁸ Daily Picayune, January 22, 1842.

⁴⁴ Constitution of the New England Society of Louisiana.

College, receiving his degree in 1807. He traveled to Natchitoches where he opened a law office and began the practice of his profession. He was elected to Congress, and was appointed Secretary of State of Louisiana in 1839. His most important years were those spent as Associate Justice of the Louisiana Supreme Court, in which capacity he served from February 4, 1834 to March 19, 1846. He died April 17, 1851. Dora J. Bonquois, "The Career of Henry Adams Bullard, Louisiana Jurist, Legislator, and Educator," in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXIII (1940), 999-1106.

⁴⁶ Daily Picayune, January 22, 1842.

⁴⁷ Reverend Theodore Clapp was one of the most respected and best loved ministers in New Orleans. He came to New Orleans from Massachusetts as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. In 1830 he became a liberal thinker and left this religion to establish three years later the First Congregational Church. Edwin L. Jewell, ed., Jewell's Orescent City Illustrated (New Orleans, 1873), 147.

⁴⁸ Alexander Porter was a native of Ireland. In 1801 he accompanied his uncle to Nashville, Tennessee, where the elder Porter established himself as a merchant. Alexander studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1807. He emigrated to the Attakapas region of the Territory of Orleans in 1809. He served as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1811-1812, in the lower house of the State Legislature, and as Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court. He served also in the United States Senate from 1833 to 1837. He died in January, 1844. Dictionary of American Biography, XV, 81.

⁴⁹ Daily Picayune, December 24, 1842.

⁵⁰ Ibid., December 21, 1842; December 23, 1847; December 22, 1849.

⁸¹ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 88.

candidate for mayor of the city of New Orleans.⁵² Mr. Peters also served as Justice of the Peace for the Second Municipality, receiving this appointment from Governor A. B. Roman in 1841 and again in 1846 from Governor Isaac Johnson.⁵³

In November, 1851, Mr. Peters decided to move his residence from Carondelet Street to the suburbs.⁵⁴ He purchased a place in Bouligny⁵⁵ where the Sacred Heart Convent⁵⁶ on St. Charles Street now stands and named it "Buena Vista."⁵⁷ He had a short time before acquired a summer home in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi.⁵⁸ In July 1852, Mr. Peters and his family were returning to New Orleans from the Gulf Coast on the steamboat St. James when the boiler on the boat exploded and many persons were killed and wounded.⁵⁹ Fortunately, neither Mr. Peters nor any of his party were seriously injured.⁶⁰ It was in this same steamboat explosion that Isaac T. Preston,⁶¹ one of the judges of the Supreme Court, was killed.⁶²

In June, 1853, in company with his son Benjamin Frankin, Mr. Peters left New Orleans for a visit to Europe. They traveled through England, France, Switzerland, Germany and Italy, returning to America in November of the same year.⁶³

Samuel Jarvis Peters was a deeply religious man devoted to his business pursuits and to his family circle. He once said that his great aim in life was to raise his family properly, to make hard workers of his sons and give them the education necessary to make them useful citizens.⁶⁴ An interesting sidelight on his character is seen in a speech he made in the Council on the question of whether a circus should be allowed to do business on

⁵² Bee, October 14, 1835.

⁵³ Peters Papers, Lastrapes Collection.

⁸⁴ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 93.

⁵⁸ Bouligny was one of the faubourgs in the upper part of New Orleans. It had been part of the plantation of Louis Bouligny and extended from General Taylor Street to Upperline Street. Meloncy C. Soniat, "The Faubourgs Forming the Upper Section of the City of New Orleans," in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XX (1937), 203-204.

⁵⁸ Sacred Heart Convent is an exclusive school for girls conducted by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. It is located on St. Charles Avenue between Jena and Cadiz streets.

⁸⁷ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 93.

⁸⁸ Ibid., VII, 90.

⁵⁹ Commercial Bulletin, July 6, 1852.

⁶⁰ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 90.

e1 Isaac Trimble Preston was a native of Virginia, and a graduate of Yale. During the War of 1812 he served as captain of a volunteer company. After coming to Louisiana he became prominent as a lawyer and jurist, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1844-1845. The Celebration of the Centenary of the Supreme Court of Louisiana (New Orleans, 1913), 63.

⁶² Commercial Bulletin, July 6, 1852.

es Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 94.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

Sunday. Mr. Peters was in favor of allowing it to remain open. The Council, he said, was not elected to regulate the consciences of its constituents. While he was among those who regarded Sunday as a sacred day and therefore did not use it to visit places of amusement, he did not think that his opinion should govern his neighbor. And so the charge, sometimes brought by the opposition against Mr. Peters, of being autocratic and dictatorial seems rather unfounded. He gave freely of his talents and his energy in the service of his city and found complete satisfaction and reward in seeing her grow and prosper.

In appearance Samuel Jarvis Peters was of medium height and rather stocky build.⁶⁷ The bust of him in the New Orleans Public Library⁶⁸ presents a full face whose strong features give evidence of the inflexible will and indomitable spirit of a man who believed in getting things done. A portrait of him which appeared in the *Times-Democrat* of 1912 shows him in a more informal pose, wearing a large flowing tie.⁶⁹ This portrait, which was painted from life, is said to be a truer representation of him.⁷⁰

The years spent in serving his adopted city began to take their toll. In 1853 Mr. Peters suffered a severe attack of asthma and a short time after a paralytic attack forced him to retire from all public circles.⁷¹ Two years later, on Saturday, August 11, 1855, Samuel Jarvis Peters died.⁷² He was fifty-four years of age, still in the prime of life, and his going left a vacant place in the life of the city. The newspapers were filled with glowing tributes to this "practical American genius of New Orleans."⁷³ His history, said one, is the history of the old Second Municipality. He found it an uninhabitable marsh—he left it a magnificant commercial emporium. The public schols, splendid wharves, City Hall are all evidence of his usefulness as a municipal legislator.⁷⁴ The whole city, said another, is aware of his death.⁷⁵ This loss comes at a time when such an intellect as his and such a capacity for

⁶⁵ Daily Picayune, May 31, 1840.

⁶⁰ Daily Delta, January 31, 1849.

⁶⁷ Passport, in Peters Papers, Lastrapes Collection.

⁶⁸ This statue was dedicated in 1942 to the memory of S. J. Peters by the student body of the S. J. Peters High School. Nameplate on the statue.

⁶⁰ Times-Democrat, July 7, 1912.

TO Ibid.

⁷¹ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 95.

⁷² Daily Delta, August 12, 1855.

⁷³ Ibid., August 13, 1855.

⁷⁴ Daily Crescent, August 13, 1855.

⁷⁸ Daily Delta, August 13, 1855.

business would be of infinite value.⁷⁶ So passed away one of the most useful and patriotic men known to Louisiana. His irrepressible energy and indomitable perseverance made him capable of filling creditably and ably any position known to our government.⁷⁷ By his powers of organization and administration he aroused New Orleans to take her place in the foremost ranks of the great cities.⁷⁸

The funeral service of the Episcopal Church was conducted by the Right Reverend Bishop Leonidas Polk.⁷⁹ The pallbearers were his intimate friends, Christian Roselius, John U. La Villebeuvre, Doctor Picton, and C. C. Collins.⁸⁰ Samuel Jarvis Peters was buried in Washington Cemetery⁸¹ and many were the friends and neighbors who came to pay their last tribute to an excellent citizen and an esteemed friend.

The Board of School Directors at their first meeting following his death adopted a resolution to the memory of Samuel Jarvis Peters. "His comprehensive mind and practical energy not only contributed to the prosperity of the city as a commercial metropolis but enhanced her popularity as a parton of a liberal system of education. In the death of Samuel Jarvis Peters the friends of public education regret the loss of one of its most ardent advocates."82 The city of New Orleans named an uptown boulevard Peters Avenue, and in the commercial district we find North and South Peters streets so called in his honor.83 The Commercial High School for boys, located on Broad Street near Tulane Avenue, bears the name of Samuel Jarvis Peters. Thus, in a small way, the city which he had served so faithfully keeps alive the memory of a great man. In company with other men of vision, however, Samuel Jarvis Peters had built for the future not for the present. The Public School System of New Orleans is a living monument to his zeal and devotion and so long as it endures, so long will New Orleans remember with gratitude the name of Samuel Jarvis Peters.

⁷⁶ Daliy Picayune, August 13, 1855.

⁷⁷ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 93.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Evening Picayune, August 13, 1855.

⁸⁰ Kernion, loc. cit., VII, 92.

⁸¹ Washington Cemetery, also called Lafayette No. 1, is on Washington Avenue, corner of Prytania Street. Many famous men of early New Orleans history are buried there. The Picayune's Guide to New Orleans (New Orleans, 1900), 142.

⁸² Commercial Bulletin, August 25, 1855.

⁸⁵ James S. Zacherie, "New Orleans: Its Old Streets and Places," in Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society, II, Part III (1900), 70.

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MUSTER ROLLS OF THE FOURTH LOUISIANA REGIMENT OF VOLUNTEERS, CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY

Edited by JOHN SMITH KENDALL

INTRODUCTION

The muster rolls of the Fourth Louisiana Regiment of Infantry, Confederate States Army, were, after the Civil War came to a close, left in the care of J. G. Kilbourne, of Clinton, Louisiana, at one time editor of the Watchman, an influential newspaper published in that town. The rolls were prepared at Berwick City, Louisiana, and cover the enlistments from the organization of the regiment at the end of August, 1861 to October 31, 1861. Mr. Kilbourne placed his records at my disposition during my visit to Clinton in the summer of 1899, when I made the transcript here reproduced. The rolls differ in various details from the official ones turned in during the War to the adjutant-general's department of the State, and are particularly interesting because they show where and when each man was enlisted, and in many instances the disposition which was made of the new-made soldier up to the date at which the lists were compiled.

The Fourth Louisiana Regiment was organized around the Delta Rifles, a militia company which had been in existence for some years when the Civil War broke out. Henry Watkins Allen, who was a member, and who later became a brigadier general in the Confederate service and Confederate governor of Louisiana, obtained authority to recruit, and through his exertions a number of militia companies in addition to the Delta Rifles, were assembled at Camp Moore, in the outskirts of New Orleans. To these were added several newly-organized companies, enough to bring the total up to the strength required for a regiment, and on May 25, 1861, Lieutenant Pfifer mustered the regiment into the service with Allen as lieutenant-colonel—the colonel being Robert I. Barrow.

The regiment was first employed along the coast of the Mississippi Sound, the companies scattered at the various towns there, from Bay St. Louis to Ocean Springs. At these places enlistments continued until, in the autumn, the command was reassembled and moved to Berwick City. The locations of the companies along the Mississippi Sound are indicated in the muster rolls and need not be enumerated here.

The Fourth Louisiana Regiment, after a glorious career, was, after the Battle of Nashville, united with the Sixteenth Louisiana, and its history has been confounded with that of the latter command. The Fourth, however, was reconstituted on January 12, 1865, and a few remnants of the regiment surrendered at Spanish Fort, near Mobile, Alabama, about February 3, 1865. The regiment lost heavily during the war, and when the greater part of it was captured just after the Battle of Franklin, the total number of survivors, out of more than 1,000 men at the inception of its history, was forty.

MUSTER-ROLL OF NONCOMMISSIONED STAFF AND OF THE REGIMENTAL BAND

Name	Rank		When	2		Where		By Whom
Covert, A. V. D. Kelly. Z.	SergtMajor Chief Drummer	May	25th,	1861	Camp,	May 25th, 1861 Camp Moore	ŗ.	Lt. Pfifer
Pruyn, R. L.	Chief Fifer		"					•
Moses, B.	Regt. Bandmaster		"		•			**
Albert, S. H.	Musician		"		•			
Davis, Morris B.	•							
Green, G. A.					"			
Kane, T. P.	•				"			
Keiffer, Morris								
Keiffer, Julius					"			,
Meyer, A.	•						•	
Martin, Jos.	•							
Richard, John		•			*			
Wolf, Charles	"	•			*			"
Roth, Charles		•						
Parr,*		•						
Stevenson,		Oct. 15th, 1861	th, 18		Miss. City	lity	Capt	Capt. Vick

*Appointed 2nd Sergeant at Mississippi City, Oct. 1, 1861.

MUSTER-ROLL OF STEWARD, WARDMASTER, COOK, NURSES AND MATRONS ATTACHED TO THE HOSPITAL OF THE FOURTH LOUISIANA REGIMENT VOLUNTEERS, FROM 31ST OCTOBER TO 1ST DECEMBER, 1861

By Whom	Lt. Pfifer ""	Col. Barrow
Where	Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer	Camp Lovell Col. Barrow
om When	May 25 Ca	
	Pvt., Co. C. Pvt., Co. F Pvt., Co. K	
Rank	Steward	Matron
Name		Jane Hayward

Marshall Pope, Surgeon, in charge of hospital.

MUSTER-ROLL OF HOSPITAL FROM MAY 25 TO AUG. 31, 1861

1-Marshall Pope, Surgeon, in charge.

Company C., 2—Chas. H. Chinn, Steward, May 25th. Company F., 3—Chas H. Hyde, Wardmaster, August 20th. Company K., 4—P. Z. Colson, Nurse, June 13th.

Enlisted May 25th, 1861, at Camp Moore by Lieut. Pfifer.

VOUCHER NO. 12

Muster-Roll of Hospital Department, at Berwick City, From Aug. 31 to Oct. 31, 1861.

Marshall Pope, Surgeon.

Company C.—Charles H. Chinn, Steward. Company F.—Charles H. Hyde, wardmaster. Company H.—John Putman, Oct. 1.

Enlisted May 25, at Camp Moore, by Lt. Pffer.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPTAIN HENRY C. RAUHMAN'S COMPANY "A." (National Guards.)

By Whom Lt. Pfifer """"""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	Rauhman Lt. Pfifer ""
Where Camp, Moore """""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	Pascagoula Camp Moore ""
When May 25th """"""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	Sept. 20 May 25th "" "" "" "" ""
Capt. 1st. Lieut. 2nd. Lieut. Jr. 2nd. Lieut. 1st. Sergt. 2nd. Sergt. 3rd. Sergt. 3rd. Sergt. 5th. Sergt. 5th. Sergt. 7th. Sergt.	"" Deserted. Private "" "" ""
Rauhman, Henry C. Wolf, John L. Betz, Charles Blum, C. Biedel, Ed. Stingel, H. Schling, F. Schneider, F. Kohler, John Stephens, G. Althaus, A. Buckly, B. Brodeck, L. Bohn, R.	Bates, John Chaillet, Tean Conselman, John Crosby, F. Collins, T. Collins, T. Christaffel, J. Deitz, H. Deadey, J. Donohoe, M. Evans, J.

|--|

By Whom		Berwick City, La. Nov. 27, 1861 A. Blum, Lt. Com'd'g.
Where		Berwick Nov. 27,
When		
Rank		fficers, 4.
Name	Mann, Christian Neville, James Oeschgar, J. Oster, J. Paul, F. Ragan, C. Railey, R. Swab, J. Schaeffer, C. Steff, G. Sullivan, F. Schneider, M. Weinhardt, A. Weinhardt, A. Weise, W. Wolff, S. Walter, W. Weisser, Ch.	Commissioned Officers, 4. Sergeants, 5. Drummer, 1. Privates, 69.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPT. FRANC WHICHER'S COMPANY, "B." (Lake Providence Cadets.)

Bu Whom	Lt. Pfifer			Capt. Whicher	Lt. Filler	: :	Capt. Whicher	Capt. Whicher	Lt. Pfifer				•		•	Capt. Whicher	nt. riller	
Where	Camp Moore		,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	2 2			Miss. City	camp "			•		"	2 2	8	Ship Is.	Camp Moore	•
When	May 25 May 27	May 25		May 30	May 25		Oct. 1		May 31 May 25	i = =		::		: :	•	Sept. 11	May 25	
Rank	Lie	Jr. 2nd Lieut.	2nd Sergt.	4th Sergt.	1st Corp. 2nd Corp.	3rd Corp.	Drummer	LIIVale	: :				"	e :		2 2		
Name	Whicher, Franc Pennington, W. F.	Purdy, C. R.	Smith, G. W.	Hogge, Thos. E.	Green, John Doran, W. W.	Smith, L. B. Johnson, B. C.	Wilson, Henry	Alexander, B. H.	Allison. M. M.	Armistead, J. R.	Alford, I. F. Baker, T. J.		Blatz, J. L.	Blount, W. A.	Bourke, Wm.	Bower, Henry	Crockett, B. F.	Cottrell, J. F.

								itsut .		
By Whom		Capt. Whicher Lt. Pfifer			Capt. Whicher	Whicher Pfifer			Capt. Whicher Lt. Pfifer	
		Capt.			Capt.	Capt. Lt. Pfi			Capt.	2
Where	aŭ	Miss. City Camp, Moore				New Orleans Camp Moore			Ship Is. Camp, Moore	
•		Miss. Camp				New Camp			Ship I Camp	2
When		1 25 ,,			27 25	25			15 25 35	
		Oct. 1			May	June 8 May 25			Sept. 15 May 25	
Rank			*							
										2
ame	נ צ	W. L. nas		, н	. J. A. H. J. M.	• ot	r. E. L.			T.
Na	Carnay, M. Cronan, D. Conn, J. D. Deeson, H. I Dreyfus, F. Davis. K.	FIGH	Gutzmer, D. Gerin, P. Grace, M. J.		Hyres, E. J. Hillman, A. Jamison, J.		2 :	Laster, T. A. Lawler, P. Livey, John	Lintz, Peter Moon, W. M.	Murley, D. 7
	DOCCE	Egg.	Gra Ger	Has Hove	Hyll Hall	Jan Kell Kib	Kin Klei Lan	Las Law Live	Lintz, L Moon,	Mur

Name	Rank	When	Where	By Whom
Megorain, N.	2			2 :
McAuley, John R.				: :
McHugh. M.				"
McJilton, W. T.			. :	2 :
Noonan, M.				F
Pride. Jas. M.		-		
Potts, W. C.				
Purdy, V. M.				
Soberts, A. W.		"		•
Coberts, M. W.				
cowe, John S.	2 :	. :		. :
Rust. B. F.		•		
Syan, John	"	"	"	
shields, R. H.				
stafford, J. M.			•	
cott. A. H.	. :			
immers, W. H.				
ompkin, W. H.	"		•	
hompson, R. S.	2 :			
Vinkelman, F.				
erry, W. G.	2 :	2:	2 :	
iley, T. J.	•			
Charles and de la contraction			1	

Camp Hunter, near Franklin, La., Nov. 29, 1861.

Franc Whicher, Capt., Commanding Company.

Aug. 31 to Oct. 31.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPTAIN H. M. FAVROT'S COMPANY, "C" (Delta Rifles.)

By Whom	Lt. Pfifer ""	Capt. Favrot Lt. Pfifer """"""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	"" "" Capt. Favrot Lt. Pfifer ""
Where	Camp Moore "" "" "" "" "" "" ""	Camp Davis Camp Moore	", ", Ship Is. Ocean Spgs. Camp Moore
When	May 25, 1861	"" June 26, 1861 May 25, 1861 ""	", ", ", ", Aug. 19, 1861 Sept. 1, 1861 May 25, 1861
Rank	Captain 1st Lieut. 2nd Lieut. Jr. 2nd Lieut. 1st Sergt. 2nd Sergt. 3rd Sergt. 4th Sergt.	2nd Corp. 3rd Corp. 4th Corp. Private "" ""	
Name	Favrot, H. M. Hereford, L. S. Lemmon, Geo. C. Skolfield, O. P. Lobdell, L. S. Richard, F. McKay, August Jeter, W. G.	Allain, Augustin Hebert, Chas. Barrow, Wm. M. Alverson, C. P. Bergeron, F. V. Bernard, Philip Bernard, L. A. Babin, T. W.	Blouin, J. E. Bowman, M. S. Brown, Jos. Brown, Llewellyn Brown, Joshua Broussard, A. Boyard, J. K. Bradford, B. G. Carmouche, E. A. Cheatham, F. A. Conner, H. M.

By Whom "" ""	vrot	vrot				vrot			
By 1	Capt. Favrot Lt. Pfifer	Capt. Favrot Lt. Pfifer				Capt. Favrot	Lt. Pfifer	2 2 2 3	
Where "	Camp Davis Camp Moore	Camp Davis Ocean Spgs. Camp Moore				Camp, Davis	Camp Moore Ocean Spgs.		
	Cam	Camp I Ocean S Camp I				Cami	Caml		
When ""	26, 1861 25, 1861	June 26, 1861 Oct. 8, 1861 May 25, 1861				June 26, 1861	May 26th, 1861 Oct. 20, 1861 ",		
	June 26, 1 May 25, 1	June Oct. May				June	May Oct.		
Rank Drummer Private Hospital Steward Color Sergt. Private									
				en	·			7	'n
Name Conner, Matt Corlies, W. H. Chinn, C. H. Clark, B. W.	ry ivid V. Jr.	C. E. Clair	M. W.	Guy, Pierre Henderson, Stephen Humphrey, A.	i ide J	wm. Isaac M.	Lejeune, Enos Lejeune, Theodule	F. M.	McCrindell, W. H. S.
Conner, Matt Corlies, W. H. Chinn, C. H. Clark, B. W.	Carl, Henry Devall, David Duralde, J. V	Denham, W. Dirmeyer, C. Favrot, St. C.	Garig, G. M. Gorham, D. B.	Guy, Pierre Henderson, St Humphrey, A.	Jarreau, J. F. Jewell, F. L. Kepler, Wm. Key, N. S.	Kitchen, w Kitchen, Is Kidd, H. M	Kendall, John I. Lejeune, Enos Lejeune, Theodul	Lamon, A. H. McCausland, M. McHatton, F.	ringen
Christian	Car	Den Diri Fav	Gar	Guy	Jew Kep Key	Kid Kit	Leje Leje	Lan Mech Meh	MCC

Where By Whom	Camp Allen Camp Moore Ship Island Camp Moore Lt. 1					
e When	June 13th, 1861 May 25th, 1861 Aug. 10th, 1861 May 25th, 1861					
Rank		Fife Master Private				2.2.2
Name	Mitchell, James Metevier, L. Montan, Wm. W. Nolan, T. J., Jr.	Percy, Thos. Pruyh, R. L. Retzner, A Rickner, Henry	Reynaud, L. F. Robertson, T. C. Roberts, C. A.	Sparks, A. G. Stanard, John H. Stuart, J. B.	Theodore, U. L. Thibodeaux, A. Van Pelt, John V Vignes, Jas. D. Waddill. Robt. A.	Willis, W. T. Walsh, H. C. Weatherbee, Sam Yersin, Z. P.

Capt. H. M. Favrot, Commanding Company.

> Berwick City, Nov. 25th, 1861.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPTAIN F. A. WILLIAMS'S COMPANY, "D" (Tirailleurs)

By Whom	Lt. Pfifer	Capt. Williams Lt. Pfifer Capt. Williams Lt. Pfifer "" ""
Where	Camp Moore "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" ""	Miss. City Camp Moore "" "" "" "" "" ""
When	May 25th """"""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	June 12th May 25th June 6th May 25th "" ""
Rank	Captain 1st Lieut. 2nd Lieut. Jr. 2nd Lieut. Orderly Sergt. 2nd Sergt. 3rd Sergt. 4th Sergt. 1st Corp. 2nd Corp. 3rd Corp. 4th Corp. 7"	
Name	Williams, F. A. Leveque, J. A. Landry, B. Ailbett, S. Courtade, A. LeBlanc, Ursin Dupuy, Octave White, T. C. Dupuy, Leon Hebert, Albert Gassie, Aug. Babin, P. P. Aillet, Alphonse Allain, Emile Alexandry, A. D. Beleau, Louis	Bennett, James Bernard, Felix Blanchard, Arthur Blanchard, Hilaire Contini, Oscar Crochet, Prudent Daigle, Prudent Doiron, Joinville Doiron, Theodore Doiron, Albert Garantine, John

Name	Rank	When	Where	By Whom
		•	•	
Gipson, Edward				•
Ginson, Sylvanie		•	•	•
Griffin Ehenezer				
Pevronnin John				
Hohort Alovis			•	
		•	2	
333				
्				
-				:
Hebert, Christopher				
Hebert, Felix	•		•	•
			•	
Hehert, Oscar				
Hahart John Bantista			•	
Heber t, John Daptiste				
Hebert, Kaphael, Jr.				
Hebert, Rosemond			•	
Hebert, Louis			•	
Henry. Evariste				
Isaac, Leon				
Landry Anatole				"
Landry Trasimond				
Le Dieu, Romuald				•
Leienne. Theodore				
4.50			•	
Leienne, Theorene				
Leray Joseph			•	
Levecine Samuel				
Longuepee, Hilaire		,	•	**
Martin. Louis				
Martin, Theodore				
McKimmins, M. B.	•			

By Whom		Capt. Williams ".	fifer "	y. y. F. A. Williams
By		Capt	Lt. Pfifer "	ty. ty. F. A.
Where		Miss. City "" ""	Camp, Moore	Sept. 1st—Discharged on account of Physical disability. Sept. 1st—Discharged on account of Physical disability. Joined Scott's Battalion. Discharged. Joined Scott's Battalion. On sick furlough for 6 months. On sick furlough for 20 days—since Oct. 5th. On sick furlough for 20 days—since Oct. 5th. Aug. 1st Aug. 1st Absent on furlough for 15 days—since Oct. 15, 1861—now commissioned in the "Planter's Life Guard"—
When		July 25th July 4th "	May 25th "	Sept. 1st—Discharged on account of Physica Sept. 1st—Discharged on account of Physica Joined Scott's Battalion. Discharged. Joined Scott's Battalion. Joined Scott's Battalion. On sick furlough for 6 months. On sick furlough for 20 days—since Oct. 5th. Aug. 1st Aug. 1st Absent on furlough for 15 days—since Ocnow commissioned in the "Planter's Life
Rank			2 2 2	Sept. 1st—Discharged on Sept. 1st—Discharged on Joined Scott's Battalion. Discharged. Joined Scott's Battalion. On sick furlough for 6 m On sick furlough for 20 d On sick furlough for 20 d Sutler. Absent on furlough for 20 d Sutler. Absent on furlough for 20 d Sutler. Absent on furlough for 20 d Sutler.
Name	O'Bryan, J. J. Serret, Gustave Templet, Amades Tullier, Portalis Wagner. Wm.	Landry, Alcide Garrett, Wm. Guidry, Villenuve Longuepee, Edmond	Hermogene, Frank Scoval, Chas. Wood, Isham	Buquoi, A. Hebert, H. Bryant, J. W. Clifton, Alfred Gassie, William Gilbert, H. Leveque, Louis Libby, F. Jackson Sherron, Thos. Johnston, J. H. Woods, L. E.

Camp Lovell, Berwick City, Nov. 26th, 1861

J. A. Leveque Lieut. Commanding.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPT. CHAS. E. TOORAEN'S COMPANY "E." (West Feliciana Rifles.)

Where By Whom Moore Lt. Pfifer	Absent from Oct. 10/61. Resignation tendered. May 25th Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer			•			•		"	(,)				prings Capt. Tooraen			***************************************	"	"	*	
Where Camp Moore	Oct. 10/61. Resig Camp Moore		•	•	•		•	2	2		•	•		Ocean Si	Camp Moore	* *	"	"	"	"	"
When May 25th	Absent from May 25th		4	•	•		•	•	•		•	"		Aug. 28th	May 25th						"
Rank Captain 1st Lieut.	2nd Lieut. Jr. 2nd Lieut.	1st Sergt.	3rd Sergt.	4th Sergt.	1st Corp.	2nd Corp.	3rd Corp.	4th Corp.	Private					•			"				2
Name Tooraen, Chas. E. Wooster, J. S.	Hearsey, Wm. Reid, James	Remondet, H. H.	Bourguin, Jules	Lovassy, Bella	Sanders, R. P.	Tempel, Chas.	Lanna, A.	Zeigler, Chas.	Bisset, P.	Burgess, R. B.	Breckinridge, C. G.	Bennett, John	Cotton, Butler	Brady, John	Campbell, John	Collins, Levi K.	Dawson, R. F.	Davis, John T.	Doherty, R.	Elam, John F.	Elliott. John

By Whom		2 2			. :	Capt. Tooraen		Lt. Pffer			•	•		•	•			
Where		A A		"	* :	Ocean Springs		Camp Moore	",		•	•		•	•		alry, Sept. 23/61,	alry, Sept. 6/61,
When		r r				Sept. 11th	Sept. 25th	May 25th	"					•	•		Transferred to Scott's Regt. Cavalry, Sept. 23/61,	Capt. Leake, Commanding. Transferred to Scott's Regt. Cavalry, Sept. 6/61,
Rank		::			: 4	•	. :	: :						•	•		Transferred t	Transferred t
Name	Forrester, Willis Freyhan, Julius Fisher, Chas. L.	Goldsmith, H. Gately, Thos.	Gesselly, C. Gossin, Belmore	Gore, Wm. A.	Gregory, Eph.	Gore, C. C.	Gostenhofer, F.	Gostenhofer, L. Hobgood, John H.	Insley, S. P.	Jones, J. C.	Laverone, S. L.	Lies. H.	Lewis, T. G.	Lee, G. W.	Laurans, W.	Lacour, A.	Leake, Jas. R.	Leake, Jno. W.

Transferred to Scott's Regt. Cavalry, Sept. 6/61, Capt. Leake, Commanding.

By Whom	Transferred to Linton Light Infantry, Nov. 11/61, Capt. Granfield.	Lt. Pfifer					•	•		•	•		•								2 10 10	•				and the same of th	Lt. Pfifer
Where	antry, Nov. 11/6	Camp Moore	•	"		•	•		•				"		***									"			Camp Moore
When	Linton Light Inf	May 25th				"	"	"	"	"		"			. "				•				*	"		Deserted at Miss. City, Oct. 30/61	May 25th
Rank	Transferred to	Private			•							"	"									"	"			Deserted at Miss	Private
Name	Meyer, Abe	McBright, J.	McCarthy, D.	Mourain, C. G.	Munholland, J. W.	McPherson, Wm.	Nugier, G.	Newton, John T.	Obial, T. A.	Ortis, J.	Pillet, A. H.	Pollard, D. H.	Paine, W. W.	Rogers, Geo. R.	Rowland, John	Reames, John	Riley, T.	Riley, J. B.	Rosentiel, A.	Richard, Joseph E.	Remondet, E. D.	Richard, E.	Sulser, Daniel T.	Scharch, Chas.	Stiner, W. M.	Sullivan, T.	Seeders, Robt. B.

Name	Rank	When	Where	By Whom	
Sheehan, Thos. "	"	•			
Scott, S. D.					
Swayze, S. C.	,,		"		
Tansey, L. J.	"	•	a		
Tenney, J. T.		"			
Thoms, S. D.		"		"	
Turner, E. B.		. "	"	"	
Turner, R. B.	""	"	"	"	18
Vicaro, Jos.	"			"	
Vignes, A.		•			
Wilson, W. T.				"	
Whiteman, E. W.		"			
Whiteman, McD.	2				
Waldo, R. I.					
Walden, C. W.					
White, C. D.					
Walter, A.	*				
Austen, John D.	•				
Leavenworth, Wm.					
(Returned to	Company Oct. 5, 18	61)			
Parr, Sam'l	Private	May 25th			

Fort Berwick, Nov. 26, 1861. C. E. Tooraen, Commanding.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPTAIN J. B. TAYLOR'S COMPANY "F." (St. Helena Rifles.)

By Whom	Lt. Pfifer	"	"			•	•				•					•	•	"	"	Capt. Taylor	Lt. Pfifer	"			Capt. Taylor	Lt. Pfifer	
Where	Camp Moore	"	"	•	•	•			•			•							•	Ship Island	Camp Moore				Ship Island	Camp Moore	
When	May 25th		•				•						•		•		•		•	Aug. 31st	May 25th				Aug. 23rd	May 25th	
Rank	Captain 1st Lieut	2nd Lieut.		1st Sergt.	2nd Sergt.	3rd Sergt.	4th Sergt.	5th Sergt.	1st Corp.	2nd Corp.	3rd Corp.	4th Corp.	Musician	Musician	Private								•		: :		
Name	Taylor, J. Bunion	Corkern, J. B.	Spiller, Thos.	Brewer, P. R.	Hyde, W. N.	Blow, J. M.	Quinn, W. L.	Amacker, H. T.	Womack, J. K.	Quinn, B. C.	Carter, Robt. J.	Dean, Albert C.	Leavenworth, Wm.	Carter, H.	Addison, I. A.	Allen, J. H.	Allen, T. H.	Allen, J. S.	Arbuthnot, W. C.	Arbuthnot, J. W.	Bradford, R. W.	Brewer, T. G.	Brewer, A. A.	Bickham, J. S.	Bickham, T. A.	Bennett, W. T.	Bennett, Elisha

By Whom	Capt. Taylor				Lt. Pffer		, ,	Capt. Taylor	Lt. Pfifer		"	Capt. Taylor	Lt. Pfifer		"	: :	. :											99	. :		
Where	Ship Island	Camp Barrow	Ship Island	•	Camp Moore		C COCC CONTRACTOR CONT	Camp Relief	Camp Moore			Ship Island	Camp Moore		. :	: :	2 1			•			"	•	"	•			2 :	. 2	<u>ت</u>
When	Aug. 22nd	Aug. 10th	Aug 22nd		June 11th	May 25th		Sept. 25th	May 25th	"		Aug. 25th	May 25th						: ::		100	Aug. 10th	may coul		"		,,	•			
Rank				**																	:		. "			•			. :		
Name	Barrow, J. W.	Bridges, G.	Carter, C. W.	Carter, W. M.	Clayton, J. R.	Corkern, S. C.	Crittenden, B. P.	Daliet, Jules	Eady, E. S.	Edwards, Chas. H.	Easley, J. Watterson	Easley, N. Q.	Frierson, W. G.	Freheland, C.	Furlow, John	Gyles, John R.	Glasscock, M. W.	Hyde, Chas. H.	Hutchinson, S. P.	Hutchinson, M. S.	Hurst, Thos. W.	Hart, Jas.	7	Form S W	Killian John D	Kennon Chas E.	Lambert, Joseph	Morgan, D. A.	Mayfield, J. M.	Nettles, J. Monroe	I alhel, u. dev.

Where By Whom						"		"				, ,				2 :				Ship Island Capt. Taylor			Camp, Barrow Capt, Taylor		Camp Moore Lt. Phier	Camp Barrow Capt. Taylor
When	•	2 .:		•	•	*		:					•	•		•				Aug. 22nd	May 25th		July 21st	July 180	May Zbtn	July 23rd
Rank	•							•			•		•						2							•
Name	Pipes, J. H.	Pearson, W. J.	Ramsey, W. H.	Richards, A. P.	Kayborne, W. I.	Self W D	Self. W. B.	Staples, Jas. M.	Saunders, H. A.	Thompson, C. C.	Thompson, W. B.	Taylor, J. M.	Travis, H. D.	Veirs, H. Kemp	Wright, Jas. M.	Williams, M. C.	Webb, Jas.	Womack, W. F.	Womack, J. H.	Womack, G. W.	Watson, T. G.	Watson, J. L.	Watson, G. W.	Watson, J. C.	Youngblood, J. T.	Zackery, T. W.

J. B. Taylor Berwick City Nov. 27, 1861.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPTAIN JAS. H. WINGFIELD'S COMPANY, "G" (Wingfield Rifles.)

By Whom													2	•	•	•	•							•
Where	Camp Moore		•	•		•						•	•		•		•				•	•		•
When	May 25th	•					•		•		•		•	•									•	a
Rank		1st Lieut.				2nd Sergt.	3rd Sergt.	4th Sergt.	5th Sergt.	1st Corp.	2nd Corp.	3rd Corp.	4th Corp.	Private	"	"		•				•		•
Name	Wingfield, Jas. H.	Amacker, Richard M.	Turnbull, Robt. H.	Burton, Robt. Y.	Amacker, O. P.	Ligon, Wm. E.	Carpenter, Horace	Ohme, Hermann	Bond, Thos. M.	Day, John F.	Andrews, Thos. J.	Bunch, Theo. C.	Miller, Brice F.	Berkley, Henry C.	Bestler, Jno.	Briley, Ed.	Bosworth, Wm. V.	Bond, Milton	Bowman, M. Luther	Bunch, Eugene F.	Burleson, D. B.	Campbell, Ed.	Campbell, S. B. B.	Comish, Wm.

Name	Rank	When	Where	By	By Whom
Day, Wm. A.	•				"
Davidson, W. D.	•				"
Decker, Geo. J.					
Delemater, H.					
Dlumark, J. W.					
Draughon, R. L.					
Durnin, Jno.	•				
Dyer, W. H. H.		•			
Eady, Franklin W.	•	•		•	
Ferrill, W. F.			•	•	
Goodman, E.					
Gill, Jackson				•	
Gill, B. F.					
Grice, J. D.					
Glasscock, Jos.			•	•	
Headen, Jno. A.				•	
Hyde, J. J.				•	
Jennings, Jno.	•	"		•	
Jennings, A.					
Johnson, M.	•				
Kemp, R. B.			-	•	7-1-1
Knight, T.					
Lambert, R.		5.4			
Lee, Jas. W.		•			
Lee, O. M.		•			
Lillard, T. M.			•	-	
Lucas, V.					

Martin, H. D. Miller, John W. Mixon, G. W. Mixohel, Jos. Moore, J. T. Muse, J. P. McAlister, J. B. McFarland, Jno. McNabb, N. O'Connell, Wm.	Rank """"""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	When """"""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	Where """""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""		By Whom
Pitman, Alfred Perryman, Jos. L. Powell, J. G. Powell, J. W. Pray, R. L. Rainer, G. C. Ravencraft, Geo. W. Richardson, B.	"" "" Private	""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	camp Moore	oore	"" " " " " " " " "
Roberts, J. W. Russell, Wm. L. Self, Elias Sharkey, Jno. Sitman, C. M. Smart, Wm. J. Smith, J. W.	"" "" Enlisted as Post Private ""	""""" Enlisted as Post Surgeon, Fort Cheney. Private May 25th Co.""	ney. Camp Moore	oore	Lt. Pfifer

Name	Rank	When	Where	By Whom
Smith W. A.		"	•	•
Spring. J. L.	"			
Stanly, J. F.	•			•
Stanly, W. B.	"	•	•	
Strickland, C. D.			•	
Strickland, J. T.		•		•
Tate, J. J.	:		•	•
Taylor, A. M.				•
Thompson, A. J.		•		
Thompson, W. L.		•	•	•
Trotter, Wm.				
Vernon, J. J.				
Vernon, M. W. W.				
Van Zandt, J. L.	Discharged S	Discharged Sept. 30th, 1861.		
Vaughn, M. J.	Private	May 25th	Camp Moore	Lt. Pfifer
Weigel, John			: :	: :
Wall, S. F.		"		
White, John C.				
Ward, Alfred	•	•	•	
Wilson, J. T.		2	2. 1	2 :
Wilson, A. J.				
Wilson, John F.	: :			
Young, E. J.				
Vernon, J. S.	*4			

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPTAIN THOS. E. VICK'S COMPANY "H." (Lafourche Guards.)

By Whom	Lt. Pfifer					•			•	•		•	•		Capt. Vick	Lt. Pfifer				•				•
Where	Camp Moore			•						•		•		•	Camp Twiggs	Camp Moore						•		
When	May 25th	•									•				Aug. 1st	May 25th								•
Rank	Captain	1st Lieut.	2nd Lieut.	Jr. 2nd Lieut.	1st Sergt.	2nd Sergt.	3rd Sergt.	4th Sergt.	1st Corp.	2nd Corp.	3rd Corp.	4th Corp.	Drummer	Fifer	Bugler	Private	•	•				•		•
Name	Vick, Thos. E.	Belcher, Clifford	Dausereau, Hercules	Billin, John S.	Lorio, P. Ernest	Allain, Ernest	Page, John L.	Moorehead, Lucien F.	Allain, Louis	Forest, Joseph M.	Quicksall, Geo.	Roman, Arthur	Brockhoeft, Henry	Naquin, Myrtie	Hebert, Oscar F.	Aucoin, Maxilien	Austin, Washington	Bourg, Joseph L.	Bonner, Henry R.	Badeau, Emile	Benoit, Phelia	Besson, Joseph T.	Besson, John	Bertrand, Chas.

Name	Rank	When	Where	By Whom
Bertrand, Euphemon		•		2
Bernard, Victor H.				
Boudreau, Arthur			•	
Bourgeois, Alciste	2	•		. :
Babin, Octave	•	•		
Bouvier, Anthenor		2	•	
Babin, Adam	•	•		
Badeaux, Adolphe		•		•
Babin, Joseph	•	•		
Bourgeois, Ildie	•	•		
Beldad, Christian	•			
Byers, John M.			•	"
Brasset, Henry C.		Oct. 15th	Camp Relief	Capt. Vick
Coulon, H. Nicholas	•	May 25th	Camp Moore	Lt. Pfifer
Chiasson, Theodore	"	•	•	•
Chauvin, Joseph				
Clark, Ferdinand	"			•
Corbet, Thos.		•		
Carter, Andrew J.	"		•	
Dionne, Onezime	2		•	
Dionne, Joseph	•	•	2	=
Daunis, Aristide	•		2	
		Oct. 15th	Camp Relief	Capt. Vick
Darden, Wm. R.		May 25th	Camp Moore	Lt. Pfifer
Daigre, Ernest			•	
Durant, Geo.	2	June 10th	. :	Capt. Vick
Forest, Robt.		May 25th		Lt. Pfifer

Where By Whom.	•		Capt. Vick									•		£		•		elief "	oore Lt. Pfifer				•	•		•	•
When Wh		"	"	"	"		"						•	"		•		Oct. 15th Camp Relief						•			
Rank			,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	"	1								•					" 0ct.	" May				•				
Name I	Froehlicher, Jos. A.	Grisamore, Nathan W.	Hymel, Alfred	Harris, Harrison H.	Hill, Geo.	Hotard, Amedie	Hanly, Thomothy	Hebert, Emile	Hebert, Sosthene	Head, Wm. Lee	Jones, Joseph	Journot, Theo.	Leidner, Jacob	Laperruque, Eugene	Levron, Aurelien	Lambert, Ernest	LeBlanc, Prosper	LeBlanc, Chas.	Lull, Chas. E.	Landry, M. Hyppolyte	Lorio, J. Denis	Lapeyrouze, Zepherin	Marnell, David F.	Moore, David	McDonald, James	Maas, Henry	Nary, Mathias

Name	Rank	When	Where	By	By Whom
Perkins, Rasselus	•		"		*
Pitre, L. Douradon					
Perryman, Edward B.					•
Pattman, John H.			"		
Quicksall, Wm. H.		•	"		"
Roussel, J. Abel	•				"
Roussel, L. Amas		•			
Roussel, Thos.		•	•		
Roustan, Louis A.					
Robichaux, Theophile P.	•	"			
Robichaux, Desire P.	•	"			
Roger, Adrien		•			
Rossignol, Adolphe					
cobinett, Lee C.					
Smith, Hampton C.					
Sparks, Wm. H.					
Scanlan, Frank					
Stevenson, Thos. B.	Detached Service with Regt. Band.	with Regt. Band.			
Coups, Drauzin	Private	May 25th	Camp Moore	Lt. Pfifer	fifer
ickner, Francois		•	"		
Walsh, John M.	•				
White, Chas.	"				
Boudreau, Victorin	Discharged Ship Island.	sland.	/1861		
Naguin, Myrtie M.	Died at Camp Relief. Oct. 4th. 1861.	ef. Oct. 4th. 1861.			
	-				

(Near Franklin)) Thos. E. Vick, Nov. 29th, 1861.) Commanding.Co.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPTAIN JOHN T. HILLIARD'S COMPANY, "I" (Hunter Rifles, B.)

By Whom	Lt. Pfifer "	: : :				Capt. Hilliard	the rimer	Capt. Hilliard Lt. Pfifer		Capt. Hilliard Lt. Pfifer		2 :	: :	Capt, Hilliard	Lt. Pfifer Capt., Hilliard
Where	Camp, Moore	: : :			2 2	Camp Neafus	Camp Moore	Camp Neafus Camp Moore	: :	Camp Neafus Camp Moore				Camp, Neafus	Camp Moore Camp, Neafus
When	May 25th "	:::		::		June 13th	May coul	Aug. 14th May 25th		June 18th May 25th		: :	: :	Oct. 1,st	May 25th Aug. 1st July 8th
Rank	Captain 1st Lieut. 2nd Lieut.	3rd Lieut. 1st Sergt.	3rd Sergt.	1st Corp.	3rd Corp.	Private	•	:				a :			
Name	Hilliard, John T. Adams, Jos. J. Holmes, E. C.	Huston, E. F. Cornelius, Cado R.	D'Armond, T. Henry Dutart, J. D.	Brashier, Hugh P.	Gayle, C. O.	Ambrose, Stephen	Bell, Clarence	Benge, J. Burns, John H.	Brannon, Patt.	Carney, T. D. Conrad, J. S.	D'Armond, John	Daniels, B. S.	Draudy, S. M.	D'Armond, T. F.	Doughty, Arch. J. Doughty, T. R.

Where By Whom	Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer		•	Camp Neafus Capt, Hilliard	Moore		Baliaf "	Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer				Camp Neafus Capt. Hilliard						Camp Neafus Capt. Hilliard		Moore	Camp Nearus Capt. Hilliard				Camp Neafus Capt. Hilliard		Camp Moore Lt. Pnier
When	May 25th Camp				May 25th Camp 1 Sept. 1st Camp 1	20th	Tath 17th	5th	13th	unes			May 25th Camp			•		July 29th Camp			July 25th Camp		"			July 9th	
Rank			•	. :		2 2	•					•	2 4		•												
Name	Gumbel, Ferdinand Green, Peter A.	Green, G. A. Hobsood H	Huston, Harry	Haile, W. R.	Hough, Robt. Hausev. I. D.	Hausey, Bev.	Harp, K.	Irvin, B. D.	Irvin, George	Jerks, Oliver F.	Jones, W. B.	Joffrion, Joe H.	Kane, Thos.	Kent, L. S.	Kornbooker Ed	Keiffer, Morris	Keoh. J.	Knighton, J. H.	Loyd, W.	Lacoq, Alfred P.	Millican Thad C	Millican, Joe	Munson, L.	Moore, D. A.	Messey, Ed.	Maryman, Wm. A.	Nash, Jas. E.

Where By Whom			Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer	ty.	Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer		Camp Neafus Capt. Hilliard			Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer			Camp Neafus Capt. Hilliard		Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer			Camp Neafus Capt. Hilliard	Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer		Camp Moore 1+ Defer		Camp Neafus Capt. Hilliard		Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer						
When		Oct. 17th	May 25th	Discharged for	May 25th		Aug. 1st		August 21st	May 25th	4	"	July 9th		May 25th	2	•	Aug. 28th	May 25th		June 13th	may 20011	Oct. 1st	June 13th	May 25th				•		a.
Rank	" "		•			"	The State of Control o	**	11	-	•	"		•				•				"		•	a :						á
Name	Neal, Ed.	Nash, W. N.	Pinkney, Theo.	Powell, L. M.	Powell, Jacob	Perry, B. Frank	Packer, Jno. J.	Pierce, Wm.	Paine, J. F. Y.		Rogers, J. P.	Rogers, L. W.	Rogers, Moses	Rogers, Geo. Wash.	Robins, Sidney	Steadman, G. A.	Scott, T. J.		Scarborough, A.	200	Simnson E. D.	Smith, W. C.	Smith, L. H.	Stafford, Thos.	Taylor, Tom C. W.	Trask, W. E.	Vinson, Robt.	Veirs, B. Pip.	Weirs, Jno. W.	Wedge, D. J.	Zug, Robt. R.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPTAIN E. J. PULLEN'S COMPANY "K." (Hunter Rifles, A.)

Name	Rank	When	By Whom
Pullen, E. J.	Captain	May 25th Camp Moore	e Lt. Pfifer
Neafus, G. A.	1st. Lieut.	"	"
Barfield, N. B.	2nd Lieut.	(Elected Oct. 8th, 1861. Was	1st Sergt.)
Hays, E. A.	Jr. 2nd Lieut.	May 25th Camp Moore Lt. Pfifer	e Lt. Pfifer
Fiester, A. T.	1st Sergt.	(Promoted Oct. 8th, 1861.)	
Rheams, L. T.	2nd Sergt.	May 25th Camp Moo	e Lt. Pfifer
Crane, W. J.	3rd Sergt.		
Knox, W. A.	4th Sergt.		"
McKneeley, J. A.	5th Sergt.		
Hicklin, J. T.	1st. Corp.		
Jarrett, C. P.	2nd Corp.	,,	"
White, J. A.	3rd Corp.		•
Lea, W. D.	4th Corp.	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
Achord, H. Obe.	Private	"	
Atkins, John	"	" "	
Biesel, Wm.	"	" "	•
Bradford, John W.	•	June 8th	Capt. Pullen
Chapman, Wm. J.		May 25th	Lt. Pfifer
Callihan, D. M.	"	"	
Colson, P. Z.	4		"
Chaney, L. R.	"		"
Chaney, J. E.	"		
Carter, Wm. A.	"		"

By Whom		Capt. Pullen	Lt. Pfifer							2	•	8			Capt. Pullen	" .	Lt. Pfifer		"		Capt. Pullen	"	Lt. Pfifer	•	"	
Where	u			u	•		u	"	"	"	"	"	,,			Biloxi	Camp Moore	"	"	*		•				•
When	"	May 30th	May 25th	"	"	"			•	•			•		June 8th	June 17th	May 25th	•		•	June 8th	May 28th	May 25th	"	,,	•
Rank	" .	"	"		"		"	" "	"	"	Drummer	Private			•	•	•	,		y "			•	•		"
Name	Cook, W. H.	Chaney, B. E.	Collins, C. L.	Collins, R. E.	Dupriest, J. F.	Dwyer, John	Guth, Jacob	Hays, R. W.	Heatherington, W. H.	Hobgood, E. W.	Heckler, Gus	Hildner, Meyer	Hudson, T. M.	Herschler, Henry	Habricht, Jacob	Hamilton, G. W.	Harrell, G. M.	Johnson, Thos. Lott	Johnson, Howel W.	Kramer, Ernest Henry	Kelley, M.	Lambert, Samuel A.	Lea, Z.	Moore, T. A.	McComb, James	Montgomery, John R.

By Whom		Capt. Pullen	•			"		"	Lt. Pfifer						Capt. Pullen	Lt. Pfifer	Capt. Pullen	"	"	"				"		
Where	•	•		•	Biloxi	Camp Neafus	. "	Camp Moore			"				Camp Neafus	Camp Moore	Camp Neafus			"	" " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "		"	Camp Moore	Biloxi	
When		June 8th		"	June 16th	July 13th	"	July 8th	May 25th	"	"	"	"	"	Sept. 1st	May 25th	Sept. 1st	"					"	June 8th	June 9th	June 13th
Rank	ace "			"	•			*		" "	"	"				3rd Sergt.	Private			"	"		"	"	"	
Name	Matthews, Wm. Wallace	Michel, August	McDonnell, H. L.	McDonald, G. L.	Mayes, James	Murrain, Jos.	Morrison, J. E.	McDonald, A. G.	McKneeley, S. G.	Patrick, R. Draughan	Pratt, David	Rivers, Frank M.	Ransom, J. E.	Rich, Eugene	Richardson, J. Y. D.	Ratcliff, Chas. P.	Sparkman, C. J.	Skipwith, Thos. W.	Seymour, W. S.	Smith, W. Henry	Stone, Wm. M.	Shropshire, W. C.	Stewart, Leander	Schroeter, Henry	Smith, F.	Sanders, Jos.

Where By Whom	¢.	Neafus Cap Moore Lt.	" Capt. Pullen " Lt. Pfifer " "	Camp Neafus Capt. Pullen ", ", ",	camp Moore Lt. Pfifer
When	May 25th "	Aug. 7th May 25th	June 8th May 25th	July 13th July 9th July 13th	July 10th Aug. 15th Aug. 27th May 25th
Rank		2 2 2	£ 2 - £ .	2 2 2 2	
Name	Thompson, David C. Thompson, Wm. A. Twiggs, J. E. Tata Nic W.	McAdams, J. P. McAdams, W. R. Whitehead, Joe Worsham, J. D.	Wall, I. B. Weber, Frank Worthy, Scott J. Williams, S. B.	Williams, W. D. White, S. T. White, J. D. McKie, R. F.	Maxwell, Wm. C. Doughty, W. P. Odum, D. G. Morgan, J. A. Jackson, Wm.

Wm. Jackson. Died 21st Oct., 1861. Acted as 3rd Sergt. to death. (Accidentally shot by W. M. Stone at Mississippi City.)

From Aug. 31 to Oct. 31, 1861.

Copy from Muster Roll of Nov. 27, 1861, at Camp Lovell, Berwick City, St. Mary Parish.

MUSTER-ROLL OF CAPTAIN FLORIAN O. CORNAY'S COMPANY (St. Mary Cannoniers.)

Name	Rank	When	Where	By Whom
Cornay, Florian O.	Captain	Oct. 7th	Berwicks Bay	Lt. R. Ager
	1st Lieut.		•	•
	2nd Lieut.		•	•
3 T.	3rd Lieut.	•		•
	1st Sergt.			
	2nd Sergt.	•		•
	3rd Sergt.		•	
	4th Sergt,			
	1st Corp.			•
	2nd Corp.			
	3rd Corp.	"		
	3rd Corp.	Oct. 8th	"	Capt. F. O. Corna
	Musician	Oct. 24th		
tve	Musician	Oct. 7th	"	Lt. R. Ager
Gumby, Wm. H.	Artificer	•		
Runk, Geo. W.	Artificer			
Bonney, Julius P.	Artificer	•		"
Strahan, J. B.	Artificer			
Delahoussaye,				
Ludovic P.		2		
Abbey, Geo. H.	Private			"
Allen, Ralph V.				"
Alpha, Geo. W.			"	
Bell, Geo.				

By Whom		n	2	*		Capt. F. O. Cornay		Lt. R. Ager	4	"				Capt. F. O. Cornay	Lt. R. Ager	1		•		•			Capt. F. O. Cornay	"	Lt. R. Ager		•
Where						•		'n	a			•				•	•	•		,,			"	•			
When						Oct. 14th	Oct. 20th	Oct. 7th						Oct. 20th	Oct. 7th		= 1						•	•	2		•
Rank				"		" "			"	A. "	T. "	iel "		•		•	•		ich "	2				J. "	2	•	•
Name	Bell, Nicholas	Boneno, John B.	Berwick, Oscar L	Buniff, Samuel	Boudreau, Furces	Boudreau, Etienr	Barrett, John W.	Cary, Ray	Cook, Barend A.	Crossman, Robt.	Carlin, Celestin	Chestnut, Nathaniel	Crank, John T.	Coy, Robt. V.	Duncan, John	Decker, Henry	Denis, Hartman	Elkinis, Wade H.	Ehrhardt, Friedr	Forste, Bernhard	Florenzie, Chas.	Finigan, John	Fraser, Geo.	Foote, Alexander	Gordy, John	Gordy, Wesley A	Gates, Alfred S.

By Whom			= 1			•	•	•	Capt. F. O. Cornay	"			Lt. R. Ager)	"	•6	(, "								Capt. F. O. Cornay	
Where		"	"	"			"	"		""	"	"	"	"		•		2		"			"			**	
When					•				Oct. 17th	Oct. 20th	Oct. 22nd	Oct. 13th	Oct. 7th		•		•	•			•	•					2
Rank		•			"		"		•											*			•			n	•
Name	Goodwin, Jas. C.	Hayes, David	Harris, Thos. N.	Harris, Benjamin F.	Houser, Jacob	Heyl, Frederick F.	Hungerford, Thos.	Haydel, Adrien	Holder, Wm. D.	Hatcher, Robt.	Harris, Horace H.	Kibbe, Wm. G.	Kurts, Nickel	Kern, Wm. R.	Kavana, John	Keiffe, Patrick	Kramer, Chas.	Krohn, Chas.	Laemer, Augustus B.	Mendoza, Lucien	McKay, Daniel	McBride, Thos. J.	McDonald, Jas.	McCarty, Jas.	McLain, Archibald	McVeigh, Philip	Morse, Denis

Name	Rank	When	Where	By Whom
Nager, Fital			•	Lt. R. Ager
Pumphrey, Wm. B.			"	
Parker, Wm. C.			2	
Pride, Edward S.	. :			
Frovost, Leuiroy				5
Pender, Thos.	"	Oct 16th	***	Cant R O Corns
Price Geo.	"	Oct. 10til	"	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
Rombach, Benedict	"	Oct. 7th	,,	Lt. R. Ager
Rosenthal, Philip				-
Robinet, Louis N.	. :			
Rines, Henry F.		: :		
Selinger, Leopold		: :		: :
Senette, Felix	: :		:	•
Stowell, John		101		The Part of the Pa
Seely, Jas. E.		Oct. 10th	•	Capt. r. O. Corna
Theal Ruffin B.		Oct. 7th		Lt. R. Ager
Trastour, Auguste				
Theriot, Belisaire	•			
Topham, Wm.				
White, Marcus B.	: :		: :	: :
White, Edmond		: :	2	
Whaley Alce		"		
,				

Camp Hunter, La., Jan. 7th/61.

F. O. Cornay
Captain

HENRY CLAY WARMOTH, RECONSTRUCTION GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA*

By FRANCIS BYERS HARRIS

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand a political setup so constructed as to allow a carpetbagger such as Henry Clay Warmoth to rise to the heights of autocratic power which he attained in Louisiana during the Reconstruction Period, it is necessary to examine the series of events which brought this about, to reconsider the elements contributing to the general chaos in the State.

When the guns of Sumter sounded, the State of Louisiana had been a sovereign and independent nation for two and a half months. By a vote of 113 to 17 Louisiana had bowed itself out of the Union. The popular vote, however, showed a much smaller number of secessionists: 20,448 for and 17,296 against that fatal step. The fighting role of one-third of the State was destined to be short-lived; for Farragut's fleet had sailed past the forts guarding New Orleans and appeared before the city late in April, 1862. The first taste of reconstruction began with the appointment of General—Ben" Butler as military commander in New Orleans.

In June and July, 1862, Butler had encouraged the formation of the Union Association, made up of Union men who wished to have Louisiana speedily returned to its former place in the Federal Government. Since the Congressional elections of 1862 were about to break, President Lincoln suggested an election there looking toward return of Louisiana into the Union fold. Michael Hahn and Benjamin Franklin Flanders were sent to Washington, representing the two Congressional districts held by the Union. Having been elected, however, merely to complete the unexpired terms of secession men, they were removed from the Federal scene on March 3, 1863. Since confusion reigned as to where executive powers ended and legislative powers began in the reconstruction program, no members were sent to take their places the following December.

^{*} Master's thesis in History, Louisiana State University, 1943.

The General's "provoking personality" soon was to stir up detestation for himself and resistance to the Federal bill-of-fare. The man Mumford who tore the Federal flag from the Mint paid the penalty with his life. Butler's famous "Woman Order" aroused the enmity of the ladies of New Orleans. The omnipresent General even visited the preachers with an order restrictive of the nature of their prayers. Believing refugee slaves were contraband of war, Butler took charge of them making them Union soldiers. All this and more but added to the mounting score in the Southern "trial docket."

On December 17, 1862, General Nathaniel P. Banks was sent to relieve the unpopular Butler, who had probably handled a difficult situation as well as could be expected. In his proclamation he immediately assured the people of his good intentions.

Encouraged by the final acceptance of Hahn and Flanders after debates on the legality of their election, renewed efforts were made by the Union Association in 1863, under the guidance of Banks, to hasten the return of the State to civil status. Lincoln had consented to the program after the persuasive influence of Mr. Hahn had convinced him of the sizable amount of the State already in Union hands. But it was not long before the Union men were disputing among themselves. The conservative planters, wishing to retain the Constitution of 1852 and hoping secretly for the restoration of slavery, urged their theories upon the President. Another faction formed the Free State party, which applied to Military Governor George F. Shepley for aid in calling a state convention to form a new constitution. Rebellion had destroyed the Constitution of 1852 according to their belief. Keeping pace with developments in Washington, the Free State men were soon to become the radical party in Louisiana.

The struggle between these two Union groups, Conservative Union and Free State, was a foretaste of that larger struggle later, between loyalists, after the war was over. Dr. Thomas Cottman and the "Honorable" Michael Hahn respectively carried the struggle personally to Washington. Restoration was weakened by the energy expended in this factional war. Both the military and the Free State party refused to countenance the proposed November election. But under the old State laws, the Conservative Unionists sent Dr. Cottman and Mr. A. P. Field to take seats in Congress for the two districts. They were not permitted to stay

very long, since Congress had alread sided with the sentiments of the Free State faction. Nor did the newly-elected "governor," J. L. Riddell, have the pleasure of a formal inauguration.

Observing that the Conservatives sought the restoration of slavery, Lincoln, too, had grown cool toward these "abortive" efforts to take over the State government. General Banks, meanwhile, at the instance of the Free State committee, had permitted a registration of loyal men to elect delegates to the constitutional convention which they proposed. The registration lagged so during the summer and fall, due partly to the excessive equality notions of the leaders and also to the continued resistence of the Conservative Unionists, that General Banks despaired of its completion.

President Lincoln, anxious to get the state restored, ordered Banks to announce his own plan of election, but to do this as quickly as he could. Consequently, the oath of allegiance contained in Lincoln's ten per cent plan of December 8, 1863, was made a part of the registration which was still going on. Banks, passing over the plans for a convention, ordered an election for the usual state officers to be held February 22, 1864.

To encourage as large a vote as possible, Lincoln had provided that the returned soldiers of the Confederacy should be allowed to vote. Banks resorted to an ingenious scheme which was to conciliate both parties. These efforts, however, soon created a break in the ranks of the Free State men. Flanders led off the more radical element whic constituted the majority; while Hahn was the candidate for Governor of the socalled "rump." As evidenced also in later reconstruction events in Louisiana, the Loyalist party was divided largely on the question of Negro rights. Both sides nominated the "repentant slaveholder," J. Madison Wells for Lieutenant Governor.

Butler and Banks had employed refugee slaves to do government work. Flanders had allowed them to participate in the Union meetings over which he had control. Hahn had so far remained quiet on the Negro question. To acquire the ten per cent, it is true, Banks had straddled the fence by recognizing some claims of the Conservative Unionists and in part those of the "Free Staters." Some of the more intelligent Negroes, free men of color, had already begun to demand their rights to political equality. They formed a Radical Association in New Orleans which suc-

ceeded in having Lincoln send his personal representatives to look into the situation. The administration appeared to be still uncertain as to its status on this problem, for nothing came of these early attempts to get the vote.

The Conservative Unionists, meanwhile, nominated J. Q. A. Fellows to lead the ticket of those who had always been loyal to the United States Constitution. Through the support of the administration and the military, Hahn, the "middle-of-the-road" candidate, won by a very substantial majority; he received over 6,000 of the 11,355 votes cast. The President did his duty by endowing the new Governor with all the authority which the Military Governor was then enjoying. But his security in office was at once challenged by the Unionists in Louisiana and the Congressmen in Washington. Even the President of the Union Association, Thomas J. Durant, protested against this reorganization in a long and convincing letter to Henry Winter Davis (printed in the New Orleans Times, May 3, 1864.) Durant, it may be observed, was a Flanders man.

Keeping his promise, Banks now gave orders for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention, the representation to be based on the white population in 1860. The Conservative Union party refused to participate in the election. Their spokesman, J. Ad. Rozier, declared that the recent election violated the laws of Louisiana; that the administration was not distinguishing between the loyal and the disloyal; and finally, that the whole affair was being committed under martial law.

Lincoln had settled more definitely his own policy toward the future status of the Negroes. Congratulating Hahn on his election, Lincoln took this occasion to suggest that some of the more intelligent Negroes and those who had fought in the ranks be let in. The colored delegation in Washington had not been left absolutely high and dry.

The convention elected held forth from April 6 to July 25, skipping the days when a quorum could not be persuaded to attend to business. With only a few men of intelligence and high respectability, the convention aroused the just disgust of New Orleans. General Banks had failed in his drive on Shreveport, so that many of the parishes which were expected to send their delegates remained within Confederate lines. The flowing bowl was much

in evidence, disorder reigned, and the conventionists engaged in continued frivolities. Some of the better element became so disgusted that they withdrew entirely. Among these was Christian Roselius, the eminent Louisiana barrister. Later reconstruction assemblies had no difficulty in finding a precedent for their excesses. James Ford Rhodes, judging on the basis of the debates in the convention, however, called the body "a fair set of men."

The constitution finally adopted abolished slavery outright but failed to allow the Negro suffrage. Significant to future conflicts was the resolution that:

When this Convention adjourns, it shall be at the call of the president whose duty it shall be to reconvoke the Convention for any cause, or in case the constitution should not be ratified, for the purpose of taking such measures as may be necessary for the formation of a civil government for the state of Louisiana. . . . In case of the ratification of the constitution, it shall be in the power of the Legislature of the State, at its first session to reconvoke the Convention, in like manner, in case it should be deemed expedient or necessary, for the purpose of making amendments or additions to the constitution that may, in the opinion of the Legislature, require a reassembling of the Convention.

Pursuant to the instructions of the convention, a legislature was chosen in September along with members of Congress. Still doubting the legality of the civil government in Louisiana, and in view of the growing dispute between the legislative and executive departments, Congress refused to seat these gentlemen.

The problem, meanwhile, of what to do with the freedmen led to the establishment by Congress of a Freedmen's Bureau for the southern states. The special agent for the department, Benjamin F. Flanders, took over his duties November 1, 1864. A special session of the new legislature meeting in October officially abolished slavery in Louisiana by its adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Although the state convention gave the Governor an option on the extension of suffrage to the better Negros, that gentleman declined to take advantage of the offer.

Congress refused to seat the Louisiana delegation and left the State in the hands of local disputants until its own teeth had been sharpened by conflict. Governor Hahn resigned his office to try for a seat in the United States Senate after the fall elections of 1864. Lieutenant Governor Wells now mounted the gubernatorial chair. Gradually General Banks and other Union men in the State began to send notices to Washington that Wells had become a "rebel."

Convinced that the registration had been fraudulently conducted, Wells issued a proclamation for a new registration, beginning June 1, 1865. Answering the desires expressed on every hand that the State should have a new set of officers, Wells proclaimed an election for November 6, 1865. The incumbent Governor was made the candidate of the National Democratic party which gave "lip-service" to the Constitution of 1864. The same man likewise received the nomination of the Conservative Unionists. A third party, the National Republican, or Radical Republican, party organized on the theory that the State had reverted to the territorial status, refused to support the Johnson policy. They, therefore, nominated no candidates.

The Democratic ticket was victorious and soon found itself faced with the pressing labor problem. While the Freedmen's Bureau undoubtedly lessened the confusion and suffering, it could not suppress nearly all the disturbances caused by the presence of a race with new-found freedom. The legislature attempted a solution by establishing the famous "black codes" and vagrant laws, but eventually its program was superceded by that of the Radicals who finally defeated presidential reconstruction. President Johnson lost the last chance for executive reconstruction during the elections of 1866 when he made his famous "swing around the circle."

The fickle Wells was now a Union man again. Thus the radicals in Louisiana determined to rid themselves of his old appointees in office. The scheme was arranged to recall the old Constitutional Convention of 1864, the provision mentioned above being used for an excuse. But Judge E. H. Durell, the old president of the convention, refused to countenance such an act as being legal. The radicals then elected Judge R. K. Howell president pro tem., and Governor Wells issued a proclamation calling for the convention to meet on July 30, 1866.

The former Confederates were determined that this detestable affair should not be foisted upon them. Organized Negroes incited by the radicals gathered to protect the conventionists. One of the most fearful riots in the nation's annals occurred before

Mechanics' Institute on that fateful day. The fruits of carpetbaggery, "scalawagery," and anarchy were growing heavier day by day.

A Congressional committee was sent to investigate the "New Orleans Riot." Congressional committees for Louisiana became the usual order of the day. The report of the committee showed scant sympathy with the radical cause as it was then being furthered in the city. What happened to one carpetbagger in the struggle for power in Louisiana?

CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF "KING" WARMOTH

In February, 1872, the state of Louisiana was rent by factional quarrels among the Republicans then in power. The governor had won his last victory in the struggle to hold and control the state government against Democrats and anti-Warmoth Republicans. Seething with rage at the outcome of the great upheaval a bitter enemy spoke:

siana, except that that amiable villain, with all his infamies, is a gentleman and a saint compared with the unscrupulous despot who fills the executive chair of this State. . . . Who is Henry Clay Warmoth? I knew him before he was governor. He came in your midst poor and an adventurer, and he has been elected to office, and gradually by corruption and all the questionable means resorted by the political demagogue, abusing the confidence of a simple hearted and confiding people, he has gradually acquired and holds power more despotic than any King in Europe, and patronage more abundant and potent than any five governors in the Union. . . . What return has he made? This beggar, made a king, has done nothing adequate to his opportunities and his powers, but made most beggerly return for the trust put in his hands.¹

These grave charges against the chief executive of the state indicated the turmoil which surrounded every public official in the South during reconstruction times after the Civil War.

No Southern state presented a more discouraging picture than Louisiana in those dark days. A Negro population outnumbering the whites had been set free only to fall prey to carpet-

¹ Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, Part I, p. 362.

baggers² and scalawags alike. The national government kept the military on the scene to prompt the local officials; and Congress enacted harsh laws to punish the whites who had fought against the Union. Many northern soldiers who came to Louisiana in the war remained to add another element of discord. The adjustment between the races was frequently interrupted by serious riots. Naturally enough hordes of greedy politicians surged forward to plunder a people already in distress.³ Though he was a leading figure in the swirl of events, who could say to what extent Henry Clay Warmoth, or any other one man, was the motivating influence behind all the misfortunes which overtook Louisiana in that sad hour?

Born in McLeansboro, Illinois, May 9, 1842, Henry Clay Warmoth came from pre-revolutionary American ancestry—Kentuckians, Virginians, and Tennesseeans. His father, Issac Sanders Warmoth, settled in Illinois as a saddler's apprentice at the age of fifteen. On opening his own shop later, Issac first married the daughter of a state senator, Miss Eleanor Lane. The oldest of their five children was the boy who became the eighteenth governor of Louisiana and the youngest governor on record. The family later moved to Fairfield, Illinois, where Warmoth's father became a lawyer and served the town and county for years as justice of the peace. Attending the public schools of his "village" and reading his father's law books constituted the youth's early education. He gained further experience by attending court sessions and absorbing the legal air with which he came in contact. As a typesetter in the local printing office, he learned the rudiments of the newspaper business. When not quite eighteen, the young man struck out for Missouri to settle and to seek admission to the bar.

He first hung out his shingle in Lebanon, Missouri, in 1860. Passing for a man of twenty-one he did not bother to inform the community that he was under age for a lawyer. Aided by his friends, the youth gained a substantial practice, and his first appointment was that of county attorney for Laclede County, Missouri. Just before the election of Abraham Lincoln to the

³ For economic and social background in Louisiana see Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868 (New York, 1918), 12-17.

² Walter Lynwood Fleming defines a carpetbagger as a "white Radical from the North." Documentary History of Reconstruction, (Cleveland, 1907), II, 3. Louisiana contemporaries of the period more specifically declared a carpetbagger to be a Northerner who came South to gain the spoils of office and then to return to the North. Warmoth claimed that having bought a home in New Orleans he was not a carpetbagger.

Presidency in 1860, Warmoth was admitted to the Missouri bar. Thoroughly energetic and capable he advanced rapidly in his profession, and in February, 1861, Governor Hamilton R. Gamble appointed him circuit attorney for the Eighteenth Judicial District of Missouri.4

But the coming of the Civil War interrupted young Warmoth's promising legal career. At the beginning of the war, Confederate and Union sympathizers in Missouri fought for the control of the State. Warmoth took the Union side and helped organize six hundred volunteers to resist the attempts to win the State for the Confederacy.⁵ Under the instructions of General Frank P. Blair, in August 1861, he began to organize the 36th Missouri Infantry, which was soon consolidated with other troops into the 32nd Missouri Infantry. In July, 1861, Governor Gamble appointed Warmoth a colonel of militia, and in October, 1861, raised him to the rank of brigadier general of the state militia. Having already resigned his civil appointment, Warmoth became lieutenant colonel of his regiment, which was mustered into the United States army the following month. The young officer resigned his militia command in December to join his men in active duty at the close of the year.

Shortly afterward, Warmoth's regiment fought in the forces of General William T. Sherman at Chickasaw Bayou where Warmoth was wounded when his horse was shot from under him. Major General John A. McClernand took command and led the men in the battle of Arkansas Post. General Ulysses S. Grant organized McClernand's troops into the 13th Army Corps of which the 32nd Missouri Infantry was a part, and Warmoth was assigned to the staff of the 13th Corps in preparation for the campaign around Vicksburg. His activity in the battles of Port Gibson, Champion Hills, and the Big Black was spoken of with highest praise.6

On May 22, 1863, General Grant ordered an attack on Vicksburg in which Lieutenant Colonel Warmoth was severly injured by a gunshot wound in the right shoulder. He was given twenty

⁴ For these statements see Henry Clay Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction (New York, 1930), 1-12. See also Henry Edward Chambers, A History of Louisiana (Chicago and New York, 1925), III, 25-29; National Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York, c. 1908), X, 80-81.

⁵ In his autobiography Governor Warmoth implies that he was a Union man from the start. He testified in 1872 that he was a Democrat when the war began. House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 336, 349; another source also states that Warmoth entered the army from Missouri as a Democrat, House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 24. A Negro opponent declared that Warmoth was a Breckinridge Democrat in 1860. See letter of Dr. R. I. Cromwell in New Orleans Republican, October 17, 1871.

*House Misc. Doc. 42 Cong. 2 Sess. no. 2311, p. 336

⁶ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 336.

days' sick leave during which he returned to Missouri. At the end of this time he was still unfit for duty; and his leave was extended twice by the military authorities in St. Louis. The Surgeon General of the United States Army placed his official approval upon these certificates of absence. While Warmoth was in St. Louis he was interviewed by two newspapers, the St. Louis Republican and the Missouri Democrat concerning the condition of the Federals at Vicksburg. He brought encouraging news about the campaign, stating that Grant's army undoubtedly would succeed. From the appearance of these reports the "ornament to the service" was not guilty of the charges General Grant was about to make against him.

When Warmoth returned to Vicksburg, three days before his furlough expired, he received notice that he had been dishonorably discharged. Amazed at this turn of events, Warmoth went immediately to General Grant for the papers explaining the charges against him. On June 28, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph H. Wilson of Grant's staff made a report to his chief informing him that Warmoth had been North "A. W. O. L." On the back of the paper General Grant wrote out an additional charge that while on his way north Warmoth had made statements exaggerating the losses of the Union army at Vicksburg. Thus at the General's order the youthful officer was removed from the service. Both accusations against him were dismissed in a report on the affair made to President Lincoln in September of that year by the Judge Advocate General of the United States Army, Joseph Holt:

[General Holt had no information concerning the source of General Grant's charge.]

As to the charge of circulating false reports in reference to the losses of the Army, it is just to be remarked that it no where appears in what way General Grant became informed of these reports, and that this charge could be answered or disapproved only indirectly by Lieutenant Colonel Warmoth.⁷

This account of Warmoth's temporary difficulty was accepted by the House select committee as official evidence. House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 334-337. Just before going North, said Warmoth in 1872, he talked with Colonel Bowers, assistant adjutant general of Grant's staff, and remarked during their conversation that the Union army had lost a good many men at Vicksburg and that he did not think the fortress could be taken by storm. Bowers replied that Grant knew more about that; Warmoth conceded that he did. It was Bowers, he said, who told Grant and misstated the facts. Ibid., p. 350. The charge of being "kicked out of the army" was flung in Warmoth's face during all his political battles. The editor of the New Orleans Republican reminded his enemies that the governor's honorable discharge from the service toward the close of the war was evidence enough to destroy all stories about his "ignominous dismissal." See issue of August 17, 1871. The select committee declared in its official report that Warmoth's dismissal by Grant was unjust and procured through questionable motives. House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 25.

In his autobiography Warmoth stated that he even made a trip to Washington to see Lincoln personally for redress. The President promised to act upon the matter as recommended by the Judge Advocate General.⁸ The latter requested that the officer be reinstated, commenting that few young men in the service held a fairer or more honorable record. On this report, Lincoln ordered Warmoth restored without loss of rank or pay.

The next episode in the fighting career of the able lieutenant colonel was the attack led by his regiment at Rossville Gap, the day after the capture of Lookout Mountain. The 32nd Missouri Volunteers was the first body of troops to go through the gap and to lead on to the stampede of General Braxton Bragg's army and the capture of Missionary Ridge. His superior officer had been killed and Warmoth served as colonel during these battles. The name of Warmoth and his regiment was later commemorated in bronze at all three battlefields.

Following a short stay in Missouri and a visit to General McClernand in Illinois, Warmoth was assigned once more to the former's staff with headquarters in New Orleans, Louisiana. The New Orleans Times, January 29, 1864, recorded the address of McClernand to the 33rd Illinois Infantry and the review of the troops welcoming him back to the 13th Army Corps. Colonel Warmoth said that he arrived in New Orleans on February 15th and that at his commander's special request General Grant had permitted his transfer to the Department of the Gulf. The official Corps Directory as stated in the Times for March 1, 1864, listed the following item: "Lieut. Col. H. C. Warmouth [sic], 32nd Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, Acting Aide-de-camp, office 48 Union street."

When McClernand's Corps was transerred to Pass Cevallo, Texas, Warmoth accompanied his chief as a member of the staff. The 13th Corps shortly afterward was called to aid General Nathaniel P. Banks in the campaign around Alexandria, Louisiana, and Warmoth was sent back to New Orleans to assemble the scattered Union troops. McClearnand, having for the second time

Ochambers, History of Louisiana, III, 26.

⁸ Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 20.

¹⁰ Colonel Warmoth was quite a favorite of General McClernand. Since Grant and McClernand had had some military disagreements, it is probable that their dispute marks the beginning of enmity between Warmoth and Grant. Regardless of whether Warmoth actually criticized Grant's tactics or not, Grant certainly never forgot the reports. As for his part, Warmoth remained a close personal friend of McClernand.

¹¹ Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 24.

become dangerously ill, was forced to retire from the army and to return to Illinois. Meanwhile, the Red River campaign had failed, and General Banks withdrew his Federals to New Orleans. Evidently he had picked out Warmoth as a capable man; for he asked McClernand to permit Colonel Warmoth to be assigned as Judge of the Provost Court, Department of the Gulf.¹² "I served as Judge of this Court for some time [said Warmoth], during which I became acquainted with all the members of the Bar and a great many of the residents of the city of New Orleans, and established a fondness for it and them which I have since maintained."¹³

Judging from the increased attention given to the Provost Court after the new judge's arrival, the New Orleans Times reporter must have found it a much more interesting place than formerly. The court news indicated that Judge Warmoth was determined to break up houses of ill-fame which demoralized soldiers and made them unfit for duty; for he declared that New Orleans was a military post, and was, therefore, subject to a certain extent to military law. Warmoth was more stringent in his prosecutions than his predecessors as attested by his interpretations on the sale of beer to soldiers. Beer was to him as intoxicating as any other liquor. He declared further that the Federal officers were often guilty of blackmail. Among other wrongs he intended to reform was the delaying of the law which had kept a man in prison while the prosecution hunted for evidence. On aid to the enemy Warmoth said:

The neighborhood of our armies and forces swarm with hordes of scoundrels who are constantly all trading with the enemy, and giving every aid to our foes. These men all deserve hanging. They are constantly sending out goods and bringing in cotton. I will yet bring them up. I will interfere with their quinine and other arrangements [sic]. They are constantly feeding and supplying the enemy, and keeping the war from its close.

Warmoth got to know the Negro well while he was on the bench. He learned politics and people in New Orleans which were soon to furnish the basis for his political ventures.¹⁴

^{12 &}quot;A New Provost Judge.—The position of Provost Judge, Department of the Gulf, hitherto filled by Hon. A. A. Atocha, has been conferred upon Lieut. Col. H. C. Walmouth [sic], formerly of Gen. McClernand's staff, Judge Walmouth entered upon his duties on the 1st instant." New Orleans Times, June 4, 1864. Warmoth's name during his early eareer in New Orleans was speller in many curious ways: "Walmouth," "Wermouth," "Wormouth," "Wormouth,"

¹³ Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 25.

¹⁴ For examples of these court experiences of Judge Warmoth see the New Orleans Times, June 8, 9, 10, 23, 24, 29, July 6, 8, 11, 15, 1864.

After several months in the provost's robes, Warmoth longed to be in action. But his regiment had been cut to pieces and the few men remaining had been absorbed into other forces. He was then mustered out of service in November, 1864. Thus closed Warmoth's war career. His trouble with Grant, who his enemies said "kicked him out of the army," was to play an important part in the crisis of his governorship, for Grant never forgot friend or enemy.

Later a political enemy summarized Warmoth's career as Provost:

[The editor accuses Warmoth of possible attachment to guerilla bands in Missouri.] Who knows that some one may tell all about his exploits in that line; how he figured as a guerrilla, and how, after that little twenty thousand dollar transaction, he turned up suddenly in St. Louis, and from being red-hot rebel guerrilla, he became, by magic, as it were, a rampant Unionist, fawning with sycophantic enthusiasm to destroy old Daddy Price's boys, with whom he had before played guerilla, he goes off up the country and gets himself elected colonel of a colored regiment, securing his election, as he does everything else, by promises; and how, after a while, he reduced from the rank of colonel to that of lieutenant colonel, and how, after that, he suddenly discovered that cotton paid better than powder and ball; and how, after General Grant got tired of his little speculations around Vicksburg, and found it utterly impossible to persuade him to smell powder, he politely inivted him to leave; and how, afterward, we find him here in Louisiana as provost judge, the most cruel and relentless foe of the colored men, sending them to prison without mercy, and refusing to allow the parent to have his children, but driving them back again into slavery. . . . 15

Late in December, 1864, Warmoth announced in the papers his intention to practice law. "Will . . . prosecute any claims against the Government before either of the Departments. Prize claims attended to." His office was "No. 40 Camp Street, up stairs, opposite First National Bank." His scope of legal activities took him to important points throughout the country, and he was in Washington at the time of the second inauguration of Lincoln. Soon after this, Warmoth got special permission in Washington to go to Richmond on the government boat *Dictator*. A few political

¹⁸ Quoted from an article in the True Republican read by Senator H. N. Ogden during a bitter debate in the Louisiana Legislature. Louisiana Senate Debates, 1870, p. 339.

¹⁸ New Orleans Times, December 29, 1864. The Federal Government had confiscated goods which belonged to the Confederacy. In many cases private individuals claimed that goods seized did not belong to the rebel government, but to themselves.

leaders were on board, including Andrew Johnson, and young Warmoth, not yet twenty-three, was included in the conversation on board. He was again in Washington at the time of Lincoln's assassination and stated that he accompanied the funeral cortege as far as New York City. He then returned to New Orleans early in May 1865, when his important legal business had gained him a large fee. On May 14, an advertisement appeared stating that H. C. Warmoth and Joseph T. Tatum would practice in all the courts, civil and military, in the State at No. 40 Camp Street.

In that same year Benjamin F. Flanders, then an agent of the United States Treasury prevailed upon Warmoth to take over the Texas cotton agency. This agency was the bureau of the government designated to handle property which had belonged to the Confederate government. Warmoth was not overly anxious to leave his evindently lucrative practice but allowed himself to be persuaded. As Federal agent he seized some wool which he thought at the time belonged to the Confederacy. On learning later that it had never been Confederate property, and consequently was not the property of the United States by confiscation laws, he turned the wool over to the claimant who gave satisfactory bond in case it was later proved to be Confederate goods.

Nothing more was heard of the case until 1867 when Warmoth was notified of his indictment by the Grand Jury of the United States at Galveston, Texas, for embezzling \$21,000 of government money. When the case came up in May, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty, without even the formality of leaving their seats. Warmoth was by then a prominent figure in politics, and the records exonerating him were published throughout the country. The following statement was among the papers filed in the court indicating that the wool transaction was in good legal order:

Office of United States Attorney, Eastern District of Texas,

Galveston, Wednesday, May 29, 1867.

Dear Sir: In the course of official duty here it has been my lot to prosecute yourself and Joseph R. Morris, of Houston, for embezzlement of moneys of the United States, alleged to have been received while you were Treasury agent here, in August, 1865.

 ¹⁷ Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 27; George Fort Milton, The Age of Hate:
 Andrew Johnson and the Radicals (New York, 1930), 154.
 18 Tatum had been Judge Adjutant of the Provost Court under Warmoth.

Upon trial of the case this day, it abundantly appeared that no offense against the law had been committed, and his honor Judge J. C. Watrous instructed me to enter a nolle pros. I did this the more cheerfully, because the papers of the Treasury Department, this day put into my hands from the special agency office here, prove conclusively that the matter in respect to which this prosecution was instituted was finally adjudicated by the military authorities in August, 1865, and that yourself and Mr. Morris are above suspicion in the matter.¹⁹

Like the Grant affair this accusation was to be flaunted in Warmoth's face during the coming political struggles in Louisiana.

Warmoth had returned to New Orleans in 1865, after an attack of yellow fever in Texas, and resumed his practice there, cashing in on his knowledge of Negro psychology. As early as May 17, 1865, soon after his return from Washington and the trip to Richmond in the company of Johnson, Warmoth had participated in mass meetings called in the Crescent City to back the new President. Probably this support to the Johnson administration was due to the President's early trend toward radicalism.²⁰ At a meeting of all parties to commemorate the memory of Lincoln a committee was drafted to organize the Andrew Johnson Club of Louisiana. Among the members listed were a number of the Louisiana radicals, including A. P. Field, Rufus Waples, George E. Bovee, and A. P. Dostie. The committee called a mass meeting of all classes and all political faiths to meet on May 17. Judge E. H. Durell was chosen chairman of the meeting, and H. C. Warmoth was appointed a member of the committee on resolutions and one of the numerous vice presidents.21 The youthful ex-judge found opportunity to indulge in flowery oratory in presenting his views on the present conditions in the state and in the nation:

Fellow Citizens—It gives me much pleasure to meet you here tonight, when the people of the whole nation are rejoicing over the successes of our army and navy, and the consequent suppression of the rebellion and restoration of peace. . . . No more will the flag be hauled down east of the Mississippi. . . . No more will be heard under this flag

21 New Orleans Times, May 6, 15, 18, 1865.

¹⁹ For the records in the case, and Governor Warmoth's explanation, see *House Misc. Doc.*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 338-340; also *New Orleans Republican*, August 25, 1871. George W. Carter, later one of Warmoth's bitterest enemies, served as his attorney in the case, *House Misc. Doc.*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 28-30. Joseph R. Morris was a prominent Houston merchant who had claimed the wool as his own property.

²⁰ Until 1866 the Radical Republicans in Congress expected support from Johnson.

the screams and sobs of bloody-backed men, women and children, as the lash of the cruel slave-owner is asserting his legal right to punish his property....

Thus the "brilliant young adventurer" from the North expressed his sentiments on the end of slavery. He went on to declare that Johnson would settle with the rebels:

... We have a driver now who lived down in Tennessee, who is perfectly acquainted with that class of individuals whom it will be necessary for him to curry and rub down.... He understands the nature of them, and, like Rarey, he will, without trouble, have them get up and down when he says presto pass. (Laughter and great applause)

And the young man must have felt that he won support from at least part of the crowd as he entertained them. He boasted of his recent hobnobbings at the nation's capitol and in Richmond, and waxing more eloquent he created a surge of enthusiasm among the listeners. Then the bouyant orator spoke of politics in Louisiana.

... There are some questions which the loyal people of this State must soon determine. What shall be the future policy of the Union men in this State in relation to our State Government? We want a representative of our State in the Federal Congress.... You have already started an organization. A constitution has been formed.... No one, that I have seen, has any objection to the constitution except those men who would object to any constitution.

But some [good Union men] ... object to the manner in which it was formed. ... [if the constitution is a good one for the present] let us all unite on it... [and disfranchise the rebels for the next ten years.]

... the delegations from Louisiana ... will not be admitted again into Congress until you give to them some assurance that the State will never fall back into the hands of the country's enemies... Now, how is this to be done?... elevate to the ballot box those men to whom you have given the cartridge box...

No discrimination must be made between Northern men and Southern men.... The soldiers who have left their homes in the North... must be considered... and treated with the same consideration with others. (Cheers).²²

Warmoth closed his political lecture with the plea that the leading rebels be held to just accountability and the misguided

³² Warmoth's complete address was quoted in New Orleans Times, May 19, 1865.

masses treated with clemency. He demanded suffrage for the Negroes, representation of the state in Congress, and equal treatment of all men whether Northerners or Southerners. This address and the other partisan speeches led to several protests that the meeting was used for other purposes than that announced.²³

On the Fourth of July the National Republican Association celebrated at the Custom House, with Judge Warmoth presiding. His law partner, Joseph T. Tatum, read Washington's Farewell Address in "a clear tone and with much eloquence." Many colored people were present. That same evening another large meeting was held at the Custom House, and a large majority of the audience were Negroes. On July 11, the Association adopted the platform of "friends of universal suffrage." Judge Warmoth again presided. The Central Executive Committee was assigned to send a notice to Governor James Madison Wells calling for the reorganization of the State government on the basis of universal suffrage and declaring that the present government and constitution were invalid. The loyal blacks should be enfranchised. The notice was signed by Thomas J. Durant, President; Rufus Waples; O. J. Dunn; B. F. Flanders; H. C. Warmoth; and others.

When the Association met on July 18, Warmoth resigned his presidency, declaring that he could do more good in the ranks. He was appointed, instead, to the committee of finance.26 The "good work" in the ranks was carried on during the summer. At a meeting on October 11 at the Custom House, a reporter observed that the several hundred Negroes present made the audience look "dark as a thundercloud" both because of the dim light and because of "Afric's tawny hue." The platform was fixed up with tables, chairs, and lamps, and over it all hung the party sign. The "standard-bearer" was called upon to speak, this being the purpose of the meeting. Whereupon Judge Warmoth arose and prefaced his remarks with an adequate number of meaningless phrases. He said that he wanted the country to be occupied so everybody would not cut everybody else's throat; that the Constitution of 1864 was invalid and Wells was governor only by accident. Furthermore, Wells had sold out the Union men, replacing them with rebels. A. P. Dostie was almost crazy on the subject of



²⁸ For the letters of protest see ibid., May 19, 23, 25, 1865.

²⁴ New Orleans Times, July 6, 1865.

³⁸ Ibid., July 12, 1865; New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 12, 1865.

³⁶ New Orleans Times, July 20, 1865.

Unionism and A. P. Field was only slightly better. The platforms of the Democratic and Conservative Union parties, he believed, were written by the same man. He wanted a territorial government "bad," and wanted to get General Butler back because he was the only man who hanged somebody for tearing down the flag. ["Applause."]

He described the interview in which he had told Governor Wells the "niggers" were going to vote. ["Loud and prolonged applause."] That he, Warmoth, was going to Congress. The colored people were going to send him there. He wanted them to register their names before they voted for him; for the Negro's vote was better than the white man's. But he didn't care if a white man voted for him. Whenever he spoke of an opponent he called him a "rebel" or a "traitor." Although the Negroes understood little of this radical address, they cried out for him to go on.27

The other political groups in New Orleans, meanwhile, were not unaware of what Warmoth was doing.28 An advertisement in the papers announced his candidacy for Congress on the Republican ticket. The "friends" had urged Wells to order registration of blacks and whites alike. He refused to comply, stating that Union men would not be safe because the Negroes with the ballot would return to the support of their old masters.29 Whereupon "Warmoth & Company" arranged for the Negroes to vote for him at extra ballot boxes placed near the regular ones. Each voter in this extralegal scheme was asked to deposit the sum of fifty cents or a dollar to defray the expenses of their "delegate."30 Warmoth later denied that he received any money from the Negroes, claiming that the only money he got was one thousand dollars alloted him by the executive committee of the party; that his election as a territorial delegate was an "informal election" intended only to give force to the party claims.31

²⁷ Ibid., October 12, 1865. A. P. Field was president of the National Conservative Union party of Louisiana.
28 Ibid., October 15, 1865.

²⁸ Ibid., October 15, 1865.
29 John R. Ficklen, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana (through 1868) (Baltimore, 1910), 112-113.
30 The Democrats said the Negroes were assessed a dollar a head; the radicals denied it. "However, in the petition which he addressed to Congress on February 2, 1866, Warmoth claimed that the voluntary contributions of the voters at Napoelonville, amounting to eighty dollars, together with the ballot box, had been seized by the sheriff and his posse. It is therefore certain that the Negroes were persuaded to contribute to the expenses of their indigent candidate." When Warmoth protested against the interference of the militia, Wells asserted in the New Orleans Daily True Delta, November 7, 1865, that he said the Negroes must not be interfered with unless they tried to vote at the official polls. Ibid., 112-114. Ella Lonn accepts Ficklen's version. The House Select Committee thought that each voter paid fifty cents to vote for Warmoth. House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 25. Chambers even says that Warmoth thus "realized a nice sum." History of Louisiana, I, 665.

31 House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 350. 31 House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 350.

On September 27, the radicals had held their convention in New Orleans and elected Warmoth corresponding secretary of the executive committee.³² A platform was drawn up declaring that Louisiana had reverted to the territorial status.³³ The nomination for delegate to Congress was first offered to Thomas J. Durant, president of the convention. On his declining the honor, Warmoth lost no time in accepting this opportunity to widen the scope of his ambitious plans. The "territorial status" idea was that of the moderate radical element in Congress. Two years before, Charles Sumner had originated this doctrine.³⁴

The campaign within a campaign was now in full swing. The radical platform declared against any participation in the election for state officers. On November 4, at the old Opera House, the radicals held another political rally, with practically all the audience Negroes:

The next and last speaker was Mr. Warmoth, who exhibited most singular intellectual qualities, oscillating between the gravity of the owl and the levity of the monkey. He wound up his buffoon discourse by advising his hearers to commence early in the morning and vote all day for him for Congress.³⁵

No ignorant Negro audience could resist the invitation of this charming young man—especially since he was the first to let them have the franchise!

The Negroes turned out for their man in numbers variously estimated at from 8,000 to 25,000 votes. 36 With no intention of letting their opponents forget their power and consolidate their gains, the Black Republicans continued to hold mass meetings at which the few white leaders entertained the chocolate "yes man." Rufus Waples told them they had fought for the cause from the beginning of the war, "always with distinction and honor." They had elected Colonel Warmoth who led the Missouri volunteers; they had elected Brigadier General Warmoth who was severely wounded at Vicksburg; and finally, they had chosen Judge Warmoth whose military and legal knowledge was called into use in

³² Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 43.

⁸³ Ibid., 43-45.

³⁴ Ficklen, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana, 113.

⁸⁵ New Orleans Daily Crescent, November 4, 1865.

So The New Orleans Tribune said Warmoth claimed 2500 white votes. Ficklen, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana, 114. Warmoth himself said he got 19,396 votes in thirteen parishes. War, Politics and Reconstruction, 45. A newspaper said his vote was 8,000. Daily Picayune, November 7, 1865.

the Provost Court. How eloquent was this "simple history. How sublime the unadorned narrative!" Here was a man whose cause was unselfish. Had he not tried to get others to allow their names as candidates in preference to his? He had not asked to be nominated; he had the modesty of a Washington.

Of course "Washington" was received with enthusiasm, and he boasted to a Negro audience:

This is my proudest achievement if I live to be a thousand. Some people say the Yankee doesn't was anything about the negro. But I know different. Yankees have invented the telegraph and are inventing new machines every day. When I get back North I am going to get a Yankee to invent a machine which will pump out your black blood and pump in white blood. [Laughter and applause.] There will be no trouble then about your voting, for all you will have to do will be to wash your faces and go to the ballot box.³⁷

Howls of laughter greeted this new example of the "buffoon discourse." Resolutions were adopted by the radicals against any system of serfdom or forced slavery for the Negroes. The colored man had served honorably as a soldier, and Congress should thus be assured of the propriety of giving him the ballot to protect himself.³⁸

On December 1, the Washington correspondent of the Daily Crescent wrote home that Judge Warmoth was on the scene. The Times editor scorched his paper when he described Warmoth as "an ambitious young man of great volubility of tongue—one of that dangerous class that think it 'better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.' With a "strong dash of the demagogue in his composition" he had first coquetted with white people, "but finding that darkness to him was more promising than light, he joined himself to the ebony idol" The "true" citizens first considered the whole thing a harmless joke. They were willing to let the "poor deluded creatures" have their elections. He declared further:

. . . And thus it came to pass that the wily judge received multidudes of negro votes and dollars, and with money in his purse and informal credentials, he now hobnobs with Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens, and asks to be placed

³⁷ The writer has adapted the speech from the reporter's summary in the New Orleans Times, November 14, 1865. Ficklen also records the story of the Yankee machine, 114.

Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 44.
 Daily Picayune, December 7, 1865.

upon the roll of high humaritarians. With a sectional majority in Congress ready to listen to him and pat him on the shoulders, who shall say that the Warmoth electoral farce will not prove at length a legitimate drama? Though relying on an election conducted without authority and without any of the forms of law, the spurious representative . . . is likely to be accepted by sectional fanaticism. . . . 40

But the Washington correspondent replied that the editor was wrong in his estimation of the "ubiquitous" Warmoth who was looked upon by the "more progressive" politicians as the very creme de la creme of the Crescent City:

Go into the gallery of the Senate chamber almost any day . . . and, ten-to-one you will see Judge Warmoth enter upon the floor, that sacred arena, jealously guarded against all but the Cabinet, Governors of States, foreign ministers and members of the House of Representatives. Often does he take a vacant curele chair by the side of Mr. Sumner, or some other Senator, and converse with him, or he will recline on a sofa to listen to a debate.

The floor of the House . . . is more accessible to "distinguished strangers," and there Judge Warmoth . . . is . . . as much at home as is Mr. Hooper, of Utah. . . . Indeed, the Judge appears to be the especial *protege* of Mr. Thad. Stevens, the recognized "leader" of the House, who declares . . . that when [Louisiana] is . . . recognized . . . [as a territory] Judge Warmoth is the delegate.

While [he] thus has the *entree* into the arenas of legislation, Gov. Wickliffe, Mr. Ray and their associates have had to content themselves with seats in the galleries. . . .

At some, if not all of the departments, Judge Warmouth is also recognized as the representative of Louisiana. He is a member of the Metropolitan Club, and he is prominent in our fashionable society, ranking as a gallant officer during the war, who is now the chosen representative of a large portion of the loyal men of Louisiana. Surely, my dear Mr. Editor, your scathing article on Judge Warmoth was written under a misconception of his position.⁴¹

Warmoth said that he spent several months in Washington,

but Congress was not yet ready to receive any representatives from Louisiana. The Electoral Count Act had already declared

⁴⁰ New Orleans Times, December 21, 1865.

⁴¹ Ibid., January 22, 1866.

that Louisiana's electoral vote should not be accepted.⁴² The "Judge" presented his credentials to the clerk, but his plea appeared not to have been brought before the House itself.⁴³

In his special petition of February 2, 1866, Warmoth declared that the Democratic party had rejected the constitution of 1864 as fraudulent. This was the same position his own party had taken. He quoted Colonel A. P. Field as declaring that Governor Wells had received Confederate officers in his house when "their hands were still bloody with the blood of Union soldiers." Confederates had registered without pardon when they were worth over \$20,000 and had not been in the state twelve months. Threats were made by the Democrats that when Federal soldiers were removed, "all Union men and damned Yankees would have to go." The New Orleans Times, moreover, had said the attempt to deceive the Negro by an electoral farce was treason against the entire population and would sow bitterness between the races. The charge of disloyalty was false, for Louisiana was as loyal as Connecticut. Wells' organ, the Southern Star, spoke contemptuously of the radical meeting of November 13, stating that it did not report the proceedings—no decent paper would.44

Throughout the session Congress debated the question of the admission of southern states without taking action. The New Orleans *Tribune*, the Negro radical organ, wielded a tremendous influence at Washington, seconded by Warmoth and others. A copy of the paper was sent every member of Congress, carrying on relentless war against the Democratic legislature elected in November, 1865, under the constitution of 1864.⁴⁵

In a meeting on March 29, the Central Executive Committee of the radicals debated the question as to the best way of obtaining universal suffrage for the blacks and excluding all whites who were in the rebellion. They agreed that a state convention must be called to form a new constitution for the "territory." Aided by the radicals in Congress a group of conventionists of 1864 favored the reconvoking of that convention to oust the Confederates in the legislature and gain control of it for the Unionists.

⁴² William Macdonald, ed., Select Statutes and Other Documents (New York, 1903), 128-129.

⁴⁸ Annual Cyclopedia, 1866, p. 452. 44 Ficklen, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 114-115.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 142.

⁴⁶ Annual Cyclopedia, 1866, p. 452.

Governor Wells, who was now a Unionist and opposed by both Democrats and Warmoth radicals, favored the convening of the old convention. Said Warmoth of the proposal:

According to the call, the Conveition was to meet on the 30th of July, 1866. Governor Wells called on me and asked for my co-operation in this movement. But our friends took the ground that the Convention of 1864 was dead and could not be revived, and that Congress only could control the situation. We strenuously opposed President Johnson's plan of Reconstruction as well as Governor Wells' program.47

Enraged southern whites looked upon the proposal as an attempt to set up Negro supremacy. Congress appointed a select committee to investigate the alarming riot which took place when the convention attempted to convene, and the majority report indicated that Louisiana had renewed hostilities against the Federal government.48

During the summer and fall of 1866 several national conventions were held. Warmoth was a delegate from Louisiana to the Southern Loyalist meeting called in Philadelphia to unite with the Northern radicals in opposition to Johnson. As chairman of the committee on Reconstruction, Warmoth read the report which advocated impartial suffrage. 49 The off-year Congressional elections were approaching, and President Johnson now began his famous "swing around the circle." His ill-chosen assertions marked the final defeat of Executive reconstruction. The Congress which met in December, 1867, was thoroughly radical. The Southern Loyalists appointed a special touring committee of twentyeight delegates to follow in the wake of Johnson, denouncing his program and securing adherents to their own. Warmoth was on

⁴⁷ Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 47-48. Warmoth says that he stood "on gallery" of a friend's house across the street and watched the riot. the gallery

the gallery" of a friend's house across the street and watched the riot.

48 Annual Cyclopedia, 1866, p. 458. This report failed to indicate the part played by radicals in Congress in supporting the convention. Ficklen, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 171. "Truth" revealed his secret knowledge to the Times editor: Dostie, one of the few original Union men among the "Confederate renegades," cared little for Negro suffrage. Durant, Flanders, and Fernandez, original Negro worshippers, ran for seats in the Constitutional Convention of 1864, but lost. Then Hahn, Dostie, Field, Lynch, and others took the stump in opposition to Negro suffrage, and the anti-suffrage ticket was trimphantly elected against Flanders and Durant on the Negro worshippers ticket. Not until the early part of the late canvass was it discovered that Negroes could be of any use to Dostie, Hahn, Fish & Company. Then at a meeting at Lafayette Square, Colonel Thorpe, Colonel Warmoth, and Dr. Dostie attempted to corrupt the laborers with promises to divide the plantations of the aristocrats among them and called upon them to aid in disentianchising the returning Confederates, but without a cheerful response from the crowd. That evening Dostie went to a noted restaurant and there began a colloquy, the prelude to the late appalling events: "We must let the niggers vote or we are lost!" New Orleans Times, August 11, 1866. Of course the Warmoth men and the Dostie men parted company, for Dostie supported the calling of the 1864 convention again in 1866.

⁴⁰ New Orleans Times, September 11, 1866. The Fourteenth Amendment was the main topic in the convention. James G. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress (Norwich, Conn., 1866),

this committee which canvassed New York and New England and wound up the campaign at Springfield, Illinois.⁵⁰ By the Reconstruction Acts of March 2, March 23, and July 19, 1867, military rule was reestablished in Louisiana and other Southern states. The newly organized Fifth Military District included Louisiana and Texas and was under the command of General Philip H. Sheridan.

Early in 1867 agitation began for a new state convention. Sheridan removed Governor Wells and installed Benjamin F. Flanders in his place, declaring the former to be nothing but a trouble-maker. He ordered a new registration providing for the admission of as many Negroes and as few whites as possible. By July 26, 1867, there were 78,230 blacks as against 41,168 whites registered. The Negroes were organized into clubs, lodges, leagues, and "Companies of the Grand Army."51 In September an election was held to determine whether the people wanted a constitutional convention. The vote was 75,083 for and 4,006 against the convention.⁵² At the same time delegates were chosen, ninety-eight in all. Although Warmoth was not an official delegate, he was in the background keeping an eye on the proceedings and offering suggestions. 53 The New Orleans Crescent and the Times found scant sympathy for the conventionists who began their deliberations on November 23, concluding on March 9, 1868. On the third day of the convention a motion was carried admitting Judge Warmoth and others to the privileges of the floor.54 That same day a letter from Warmoth enclosing the New York constitutional manual was read before the convention suggesting its use, for it contained copies of the constitutions of all the states in the Union.55

Article 49 provided that no person should be eligible to the office of Governor who had not been a resident of Louisiana for the two years preceding his election. By Article 50 the governor

52 Annual Cyclopedia, 1867, p. 460.

55 New Orleans Daily Crescent, November 27, 1867

⁵⁰ Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 50; New Orleans Times, September 15, 1866.
51 Ficklen, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 187. At this time Warmoth & Company organized the Grand Army of the Republic in Louisiana. The Grand Commander was Judge Warmoth. Warn, Politics and Construction, 51; Annual Cyclopedia, 1868, p. 433.

⁵³ Warmoth told the House select committee in 1872 that he took an active part in the convention and favored the adoption of the constitution as a whole. He was opposed, however, to the disfranchising clause. *House Misc. Doc.*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 351.

⁵⁴ Journal of the Louisiana Constitutional Convention, 1867-1868, 6. That the convention was in the hands of radicals was indicated by the fact that the journal was printed by Dr. J. B. Roudanez, Negro publisher of the New Orleans Tribune, the Negro radical organ.

was declared ineligible to succeed himself. Thus a man as young as Henry Clay Warmoth was elegible to the highest office in the state. Article 13 provided that:

All persons shall enjoy equal rights and privileges upon any conveyance of a public character, and all places of business, or of public resort, or for which a license is required by either State, parish or municipal authority, shall be deemed places of public character, and shall be opened to the accommodation and patronage of all persons without distinction or discrimination on account of race or color.⁵⁶

This provision was of course for the benefit of the Negroes who demanded equality. Former Confederates, under Article 99, had to admit that the rebellion was wrong before they could vote or hold office. Of all reconstruction constitutions in the South, this constitution's clauses disfranchising certain Confederates were the most severe.⁵⁷ Provision was made in Article 135 that public schools should be opened to all children without distinction of race or color; there should be no separate schools established by the state. A state election was to be held on April 17-18, when the state officials were also to be elected and a new legislature returned—all in the event that the people ratified the constitution, on the same date.

Not all the proceedings in the convention had been conducted with harmony. Dr. J. B. Roudanez, the brilliant Negro publisher, used his paper to defend the proposal that the suborinate officers of the assembly be half white and half Negro. With him was Dr. George M. Wickliffe, a dentist from Clinton, Louisiana, who had once edited an anti-abolition journal but was now radical. The New Orleans Republican denounced Wickliffe as a demagogue. The more conservative Republicans wanted no favoritism shown even to Negroes. Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback, a mulatto and the ablest Negro in the convention, opposed the extreme radicals and supported the position of the Republican. Had it not been for Pinchback's leadership the extremists would probably have carried the day. But the proposal to put race above merit was defeated by a vote of 47 to 38.58

⁵⁶ Convention Journal, 1867-1868, p. 294.

⁶⁷ Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 6.

⁶⁸ For these statements see Ficklen. Reconstruction in Louisiana, 194-195.

Thus on January 14, when the Radical Republicans met to nominate a state ticket, factional strife was raging. The *Tribune* had only recently scored carpetbag leaders:

The Republican party in Louisiana is headed by men, who for the most part are devoid of honesty and decency and we think it right that the country should know it. The active portion of the party in Louisiana is composed largely of white adventurers, who are striving to be elected to office by black votes. . . . Some of these intend, if elected, to give a share of office to colored men. We admit that, but they will choose only docile tools, not citizens who have manhood. ⁵⁹

In the balloting for nomination 45 votes were necessary for the choice of a candidate. On the first ballot for governor, Major F. E. Dumas, the candidate of the Pure Radicals and a Negro, received 41 votes; Warmoth, 37; G. M. Wickliffe, 4; James G. Taliaferro, president of the late convention, 3; and W. J. Blackburn, 3. The three lowest were dropped on the second ballot, and Warmoth received 45 against Dumas' 43.60 The Tribune heatedly claimed the mendicant wire-workers won over the delegates with whiskey and cigars and promises of official patronage—the same posts being promised to at least a dozen different dupes; that greenbacks were flashed in public when things looked bad for the Warmoth men.⁶¹ Dumas declined the nomination as lieutenant governor and Oscar J. Dunn, a Negro house painter, received the nomination. The "white" Republicans completed their ticket with George E. Bovee, Secretary of State; George M. Wickliffe, Auditor; T. W. Conway, Superintendent of Public Education; Antoine Dubuclet, Treasurer.

The *Tribune* faction nominated James G. Taliaferro for governor and F. E. Dumas for lieutenant governor. Concluding that their chances for victory were slim, the Democrats had not selected a full ticket but supported Taliaferro in the campaign.⁶²

Editors continued to wage war on Warmoth during the campaign. The *Times* reported that ever since he came to Louisiana he had been "flitting from this State to the North and West every few months. . . . Though a lawyer by title, he . . . [had] not appeared in . . . [the] courts for two years. There was not a single

⁵⁰ Ibid. 196.

^{*} New Orleans Times, January 15, 1868.

⁶¹ Ibid., January 25, 1868. Warmoth claimed the Roudanez clan wanted to Africanize the state. War, Politics and Reconstruction, 57, passim.

⁶² Ficklen, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 209-210.

case on the docket in which his name appeared. Though professing to be an ex-officer of the Federal army, the most voluminous histories of the late war... [contained] no record of his name, much less of any exploit in which he played ever so subordinate a part." The editor further added:

The future historian of the politics of this State will be puzzled, to a perplexing degree to know upon what basis, real or imaginary, this modest young gentleman stands for the highest executive of a State, to the great body of whose people he is an entire stranger, and in which he is a mere accidental and temporary sojourner [sic]. Against this aspiring young Marcellus, the more respectable of the radical party, have opposed Judge James G. Taliaferro, of Catahoula, a highly respectable old planter, lawyer, journalist and judge, who has resided in this State for sixty years, and has always borne the reputation [sic] of an honest citizen, a gentleman, and a capable and faithful public officer. . . . The exercise of this power and discretion by a person like Warmoth, with his surroundings and influences, would be full of serious danger and alarm to all classes of our people. 63

The polls in New Orleans were open from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m., the military authorities being on hand to prevent possible trouble. Judge Warmoth attempted to create excitement, said a reporter, by driving furiously to the office of the chief of police with the story that white men were interfering with his colored constituents. On arriving at the supposed scene of action, the reporter found the rumor had originated in the timid breast of the would-be governor. The election proceeded in an orderly fashion, though the city polls were thronged with Negroes.⁶⁴ In the final count Warmoth got 64,941 votes against 38,046 for Taliaferro.⁶⁵

General R. C. Buchanan who was now in command of the Fifth Military District proposed to prevent the meeting of the Legislature until Congress approved the new constitution. But Congress solved the problem by passing the act of June 25, 1868, which restored Louisiana to the Union. General Sheridan had removed Governor Wells from office, on the ground that he was an obstruction to the government of the state, and appointed Benjamin F. Flanders to take his place. When General Winfield S.

⁶³ New Orleans Times, April 12, 1868. The Daily Picayune, April 18, 1868, warned that the people would be taxed out of their boots to support the carpetbaggers. The Monroe Telegraph said Negroes were marched to the polls in military style to vote for Warmoth.

⁶⁴ New Orleans Times, April 18, 1868; Daily Picayune, April 17, 1868.

⁶⁵ Annual Cyclopedia, 1868, p. 432.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 433.

Hancock arrived in New Orleans to replace Sheridan, he named Joshua Baker to take over the governorship in Flanders' place, the former being considered more pleasing to natives of the state.⁶⁷ General Grant refused to support Hancock, and consequently, he asked to be replaced. Shortly after Hancock left New Orleans in March, 1868, General R. C. Buchanan began his duties as military commander.

After Congress had passed the restoration act, and to prevent any further doubt as to who should be governor, Grant ordered Buchanan to appoint Warmoth military governor in Baker's place. This was done on June 27, and on July 13, Warmoth was duly inaugurated civil governor with Oscar J. Dunn as lieutenant governor. Thus the young "political adventurer" from the North held the highest position in the state. Elected by the great mass of Negro Republicans, whom he had swayed with his eloquence, he was later to be condemned by them as the arch betrayer of the Negro cause.

This "stripling young lawyer" and soldier of fortune rode into New Orleans on the wings of a conquering army, ambitious, dashing, and with a "genius for politics" which could not be denied. Even his foes admitted the dignity of his appearance and the charm of his manners and conversation. 69 He was the idol of the Negroes, the "hail fellow well met with the darkest of them," attending their soirces and dancing with their ebon daughters.70 Thrilled at the opportunities within his grasp, he soon thrust himself headlong into political battle. The times were propitious for the arrival of such a buccaneer. Six feet two and a half or three inches tall, of a slender, wiry build, he possessed a "large nose, full at the nostrils, keen, measuring eyes, a superb mustache and well cut brows and chin." Eloquent and persuasive in speech, handsome in appearance, with a quick fertile brain, he was a born political freebooter. Senator Matt H. Carpenter thus described him to the Senate in 1873:

There is in Louisiana, and has been for several years, a very remarkable young man, dignified in mien, of elegant presence, and agreeable conversation; a man full of resources, political and social,—gallant, daring, and with a genius for politics; such a man as would rise to power in any great

⁶⁷ Chambers, History of Louisiana, I, 666.

⁶⁸ Annual Cyclopedia, 1868, pp. 433-434.

⁶⁹ Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 8.

⁷⁰ Daily Picayune, March 3, 1869.

civil disturbance, embodying in himself the elements of revolution, and delightful in the exercise of his natural gifts in the midst of political excitement.71

CHAPTER II

WARMOTH AND THE ELECTION OF 1868

As soon as he was notified of Grant's order making him Governor, Warmoth issued a proclamation calling the Legislature to convene on June 29 at Mechanics' Institute, the building then used as the State House. Some of the opposing papers immediately pounced on this first official act and said the Governor had begun by neglecting the proprieties of his position. He had called the Legislature on two days' notice because he knew that the radical members were already in the city.2 They were supposed to have come early to begin caucusing.

Long before noon when the session began, the lobbies of the Senate and the House were crowded to excess. Colored men overflowed the sidewalks outside expecting to witness the inauguration of the new Governor, but this event did not take place until two weeks later. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Governor Oscar J. Dunn, exofficio President of the Senate, created a disturbance by refusing to seat Democratic members who could not take the "test oath."3

When a crowd assembled around Mechanics' Institute on July 1 to demand the admittance of the Democrats, General Buchanan was forced to call out the whole police contingent of New Orleans and a regiment of artillery. The recalcitrant legislative officials gave in to General Grant's authorities.4

Even before the new Governor was installed, the legislature had begun a career of infamous assumption of power for itself and the executive. Warmoth approved Act 1 on July 9 and thereby

⁷¹ Congressional Globe, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., Appendix, 200.
1 New Orleans Times, June 27, 1868,. Hereafter referred to as the Times.

² Ibid., June 28, 1868; Daily Picayune, May 26, June 24, 1868. Hereafter referred to as the Picayune.

The test oath, or "ironclad oath," was required of former Confederates to show their promise of new allegiance to the state government as organized at the end of the Civil War.

⁴ Annual Oyclopedia, 1868, p. 434.

⁵ According to the Annual Cyclopedia, 1868, there were fifty-six Republicans and forty-five Democrats in the House and twenty Republicans as against sixteen Democrats in the Senate. Lonn and Ficklen both record that the House was nearly one-half Negroes, and Lonn further declares there were at least seven Negro Senators. Of the majority party in the legislature, only ten were taxpayers. Hilary A. Herbert, Why the Solid South? (Baltimore, 1890), 401. Governor Warmoth stated there were twenty-four Republicans and twelve Democrats in the Senate and seventy Republicans and thirty Democrats in the House. House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 284.

gave himself the power to appoint a board of five police commissioners for the city of New Orleans. The Board of Metropolitan Police was to have full authority to appoint and remove all officers and men, a power usually reserved to the municipality. Democrats charged that the law was intended only to create a political machine in New Orleans and Warmoth's quick appointment of a black-and-tan board of three Negroes and two white men gave credence to their claims.⁶

It could be argued, however, that such measures as the Metropolitan Law and other autocratic bills which followed were necessary to protect the government from the determined opposition
of the native whites in the state. At any rate Warmoth and those
men who helped pass the laws were to claim later that they
sought only to prevent a recurrence of the violence which had
accompanied the election of 1868.

On July 13 the legislative halls again were crowded by a dense throng who were there to see Warmoth inaugurated. Most of the spectators were Negroes, but now and then a white face peered out from among the darkies. At 12:35 p.m. the Governor appeared and took his place on the speaker's left. He read his address which was greeted "with piercing yells and violent clapping of hands."

The youthful Governor declared in his message that he was "deeply impressed with the grave and peculiar significance of this occasion," and he called on the people to arise from the ruins of the old order of things. He appealed to them to work wisely and manfully for the establishment of a new day based upon the cornerstone of equality before the law and the enjoyment of political right regardless of race, color, or previous condition. While a large majority had already indicated their desire to maintain the rights of all, he asserted, still there was a minority, "not wanting in intelligence and virtue," who were opposed to such a program. Speaking sincerely and with good will, Warmoth

⁶ An opposing editor described the bill thus: "An act to control all future elections in the city of New Orleans in favor of the Radical party, to suppress all Democratic meetings of whatever character, to assist in the utter . . . [destruction] of every law made for the good of the whole people." Times, July 4, 1868; Alcée Fortier, A History of Louisiana (New York, 1904), IV, 107.

Theayune, July 14, 1868. Even before the "young adventurer from Illinois" took his reins the "Pic" hinted at dissatisfaction among some Negro hopefuls: On June 22 a crowd of darkies in shining new clothes and with carpetbags under their arms stood around the State House for several hours, obviously waiting for something to take place. One dissappointed darky said to the others, "I tell you what, boys, I'se afterd dat man Wommoth is gwine back on us; I don't b'lieve he's gwine to give a single nigger an office." Ibid., June 23, 1868.

yet had the sagacity to foresee the trend of the opposition. He seemed anxious to convince his opponents of his desire for cooperation:

... Much is to be hoped from the good sense ... and inherent love of justice of the American people for the gradual wearing away of the prejudices upon which alone this opposition is founded. Meantime, let our course, while resolute and manly, be also moderate and discreet. Let Legislation be kept as much as possible in harmony with the sentiments of the whole people. It is better that the course of legislation should rather fall behind than to outstrip the popular wishes and demands. . . .

On immediate problems the new Governor urged legislation at once to repress lawlessness and disorder in many parts of the state. He said that almost daily accounts of violence and outrage, including brutal and revolting murders, were reported—without any effort on the part of the people to prevent or punish them:

... If the taxpayers prefer to support a strong constabulary force to doing their duty as citizens by helping the officers, yes, by making the officers of the law keep the peace, and protect the life of every man, however poor, then the responsibility will be upon them, and not the State administration...8

The hands of the courts, according to Warmoth, must be strengthened, and the press, which was too vindictive and partisan, should unite with the administration in denouncing crime. He closed his message with a note of optimism which was not to be borne out by coming events:

I appear before you to-day not as a partisan, but to take the oath of office of Governor of our State. My object will be to enforce the law, protect the people, and aid in advancing the social, material, and political interest of the whole people. I believe the epoch has the smiles of Providence. . . . Let us vie with each other in seeing who of us shall receive most blessings for good and faithful services rendered the State.⁹

^{*}A correspondent wrote that he had recently come to the city to investigate the aims of the Warmoth men. He claimed to have heard from one of them that a meeting was held and a proposal made to establish a militia for the state similar to the Metropolitan Police Board. Most of the police would be Negroes. Thus Warmoth & Company might maintain their hold over the Negroes who would otherwise join the Democrats in some cases. "Pine Woods" did not believe this until he had read the Governor's inaugural address concerning a "strong constabulary force," which he declared was the only real measure that the Governor proposed. Picayuns, July 21, 1868.

^{*}For the complete address see House Journal, 1868, pp. 30-31. Hereafter all references to Journals and Debates will denote official records of the Louisiana Legislature.

A Democratic paper saw in the Governor's address an element of hope for the conservative cause:

While it expresses some views which [are]... extremely ... subversive of that order and fitness which his own party so strenuously maintains in the region he has recently left to become our Chief Magistrate, it exhibits a desire to throw a veil over the past, and to improve the present hour, which deserves to be commended.

On the whole his address is tempered with more moderation than we had reason to expect. May his future course more and more impress us with his moderation and fairness. It is with Governor Warmoth whether he shall win a good name among us, by being a leader in good works. . . . 10

Undoubtedly Warmoth's party in the Legislature was determined to place autocratic powers in his hands. The party was a minority group, composed for the most part of ex-slaves, to whom there were joined several thousand free men of color, ex-soldiers of the United States Army, and a few loyal citizens who refused to side with the Confederacy. Warmoth's government came into existence disliked by a very large majority of the white people who were the wealth and intelligence of the State. Against this strong opposition the Legislature and the Executive could not have remained in power without unusual laws. And questionable tactics in the coming election were by no means confined to the Republican party.

To remedy the "evil" of having no party press the Legislature soon began debating on a bill for public printing. The bill as evolved established a printing commission composed of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and the Speaker of the House, clearly a Warmoth triumvirate. The commission was empowered to contract with a state printer who was to publish the laws and journals of the assembly and all other official matter in a newspaper to be known as the Official Journal of the State. Such other papers as the trio chose, including country papers, could publish the laws and journals. And the State's lawmakers even ruled that the state printer should publish the official material

¹⁰ Picayune, July 14, 1868. Because the Republican party was comparatively new in Louisiana and was composed largely of ignorant Negroes, no effective press of that party was maintained at this time.
¹¹ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 284.

of the important parish of Orleans. To make the vast monopoly more complete the "big three" named certain journals to print all parochial and judiciary matter of the parishes in which they were located.¹²

Democratic papers in New Orleans raised a howl of protest against the printing law which provided rates in some cases six times higher than ever before. Average prices were said to be 100 per cent more than the usual run of retail prices on printing. A "monstrous imposition!" thundered the *Times*. Never had there been such unanimous action to plunder the people. And as he expected, the editor and proprietor of the New Orleans *Republican*, which was already the official administration organ, was named the state printer.¹³

Under the printing law thirty-five or forty country papers were supported; several could not have maintained themselves without official patronage. In the three years the cost of printing in the state amounted to \$1,500,000; whereas the total had never before exceeded \$60,000 in one year. Governor Warmoth claimed the law was passed to give legitimate advantages to Republican views and principles, for although the expense was high when paid in cash, it was not nearly so costly when paid in warrants of the State which sold as low as sixty cents on the dollar. He admitted that he owned 250 shares of stock of a total of 1100 in the Republican.

The Legislature at its first session began the practice of granting monopolies to concerns of all sorts. The Louisiana Lottery Company was chartered with a complete monopoly on the "chance game" throughout the State. And the Governor allowed the bill to become a law without his signature, claiming that the Assembly would pass it over his head anyway if he vetoed it. Republican Senator John Lynch strongly opposed the bill as

¹² Laws of Louisiana, 1868, Act 8.

¹³ Times, July 16, 29, 1869. In the first two and a half years of Warmoth's regime the Republican received \$1,140,881.77 for public printing. Herbert, Why the Solid South?, 408.

¹⁴ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 20-21, 38.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 39; Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 87.

¹⁶ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 298.

¹⁷ The paper was established probably a year and a half before Warmoth became Governor; he held the stock before his inauguration. *Ibid.*, p. 368.. The Governor claimed the paper did not pay dividends; others said it paid a dividend of 110 per cent. Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana*, 87.

¹⁸ The Constitution of 1864 had permitted the sale of lottery tickets and the licensing of gambling houses. Since the new constitution failed to mention lotteries, they were "unofficially constitutional." William Henry Hunt, ed., Selected Arguments, Lectures and Miscellaneous Papers of Randell Hunt (New Orleans, 1896), 283-284. See Laws of Louisiana, 1868, Act 25.

¹⁹ Picayune, August 19, 1868; Times, August 20, 1868.

proposing to "make capital out of the credulity of the ignorant;" and Presiding Officer Dunn signed the bill under protest.²⁰ Thus began the practice of giving aid to favorites or to those who paid the price demanded by the members of the assembly. Such measures, it was frankly admitted on all sides, were supported by adherents of both parties.

In September the Legislature passed a civil rights bill designed to punish any owner of a hotel, steamboat, or other public place or vehicle who refused equal service to Negroes and whites.²¹ Governor Warmoth returned the bill on September 25 accompanied by a sensible veto message. He urged that the means contained in the measure for enforcing civil rights were "not merely novel and unprecedented but impracticable and pernicious." The community had never before made it a crime for a man to be denied access to a hotel:

- ... And it ought to be carefully borne in mind that we can not hope by legislation to control questions of personal association; much less can we hope to force on those who differ from us our views of what is humane, or courteous, or Christian-like...
- ... when the prejudices regarding race are inflamed to the utmost, it is here proposed to enforce by penal remedies what is practically class legislation... The effect, in my judgment, of such an act would be to defeat rather than promote the ends apparently had in view by the author of the bill... 22

Declaring also that the organic law of the land already protected civil and political rights regardless of color, he said that the law made no clear distinction between transportation wholly within the state and interstate traffic, and that Congress alone could pass regulations on the latter.

By a vote of 32 to 32 (two-thirds being necessary) the Governor's veto was sustained on the civil rights bill. Dennis Burwell, a Negro member of the House, supported the veto; he and the others backing the Governor's position said that the bill could not be enforced if it passed.²³ But the majority of the Negroes

23 Times, September 29, 1868.

³⁰ Senate Journal, 1868, pp. 91-92.

³¹ Ficklen, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 208.

³² See veto message, House Journal, 1868, pp. 246-247.

had set their hearts on this law, and Warmoth sowed a seed of distrust which later grew into enmity for the man they helped elect.

In 1869 another civil rights bill was passed to enforce Article 13 of the State Constitution. This act, said the Governor afterwards, was strictly in accord with the constitutional provision, and he signed it on February 23, 1869.24 Under Section 1 of the new law all passenger carriers in the State were ordered to show no distinction on account of race or color; while Section 2 opened all hotels, inns, or places of entertainment to Negroes. Although the law went on the books, it could not be enforced, as the Governor was well aware. The Negroes would not intrude themselves in places where they were not wanted.25

Not satisfied with this attempt at social equality, the extreme radicals in the Legislature pushed through another bill in the last few days of the session of 1870. Under the proposed measure the Metropolitan police were to close places which refused Negroes and bring the violators into court for trial.26 Warmoth vetoed the bill at the opening of the session of 1871, and his veto was sustained. He declared that Article 94 of the Constitution was violated; for it gave judicial power only to certain prescribed people and did not include the police. The bill also set aside the guarantee of a speedy trial and the right of bail.27

Such bold action by the Governor served to increase the distrust of the Negroes who wanted equality. Henry C. Dibble claimed that "all the opposition to Governor Warmoth among the republicans of the State began when he refused to sign . . . the first social equality bill."28 Lieutenant Governor Dunn, the leader of the colored men in Louisiana and admitted by all parties to be sincerely devoted to the advancement of his race, dated his opposition to Warmoth from these vetoes. The Governor himself said in 1872 that Dunn felt an honest distrust of him and suspected his fidelity to the colored people.29

Meanwhile the presidential election was approaching, and both parties girded themselves for the fray. Recovering from their defeat in the spring campaign, the Democrats took new heart

²⁴ Laws of Louisiana, 1869, Act 38; Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 92; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 329.

25 Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 40; Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 92.

³⁶ Picayune, January 6, 1871; Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 92. ³⁷ Picayune, January 6, 1871.

²⁸ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 274.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 379.

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and planned devices to consolidate their party and win Negro votes. The Knights of the White Camelia was a secret organization designed to promote white supremacy. Although it took no active part in politics, this society probably helped the cause of the Democrats. Bands of marauders parading under the guise of the Ku Klux Klan added fuel to the political flame. For their part the Republicans organized Negro Union, or Loyal League, clubs and warned the darkies not to vote for the Democrats on penalty of losing all the rights they had won. Evidence indicated that many Negroes left the Republican party in the election. Some were scared away by the threats of the Democrats; others were persuaded that the Republicans had betrayed the Negro cause. Political encounters before the election were so violent, however, that the Republican leaders advised most of the Negroes not to vote.

Soon after coming into office, Governor Warmoth transmitted to the Legislature a petition signed by ten citizens of North Louisiana calling attention to certain outrages being committed in Franklin Parish and vicinity. The petitioners claimed that at least fifty murders had been committed recently and that the peaceable citizens were no longer safe. Warmoth recommended that the General Assembly call on the President of the United State to furnish troops to aid the civil authorities in suppressing the outrages. In response a joint resolution was passed August 1 directing the Governor to forward the request for presidential action together with the citizens' memorial.³² A bill was then pending in the Legislature for the organization of a state militia under the Governor's command.

Congress had deprived reconstructed states of the right to a militia. Possibly this was the reason Warmoth delayed the notice to Washington that Louisiana had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment making Negroes citizens and marking the final step in the reestablishment of a civil government. Democrats claimed that he wanted the protection of the military as long as he could get it as long as this was the only way in which the Republican machine

³⁰ Ficklen, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 217, 218.

³¹ Ibid., 210-211. New Orleans especially was the center of numerous political clubs on both sides, a hotbed of general disturbances and violence. Ibid., 214, 229. Democrats claimed the outrages committed were not plans to kill Unionists, but merely incidents of the transition back to civil government. Picayune, July 22, 1868.

³² Laws of Louisiana, 1868, Act 18. The petition and accompanying message are in the Senate Journal, 1868, p. 38.

could maintain itself.³³ Certainly Warmoth was aware of the threat to his government, and he was furthermore doing his utmost to obtain arms for the proposed militia. He later stated that he sent agents to borrow arms form the governors of Missouri and Illinois, but they had none. He tried to buy arms, but the state had made no appropriation and he had no money.

Late in July the energetic Governor sent Lieutenant Colonel John F. Deane of his staff to Washington to ask the War Department if arms could be issued to the State for the militia. But the Secretary of War declared that this was impossible. Deane then forwarded the joint resolution of the Louisiana Legislature and an accompanying letter from the Governor to President Johnson, urging the necessity of troops.34 Warmoth had evidently intended to get a militia organized under his personal command and if that failed, to call upon the Federal government for protection. Warmoth was playing his cards shrewdly. He told the Congressional committee which investigated the Election of 1868 that he believed his "arrangements" would not have been disturbed had he completed his organization.³⁵ Just as he had had the sagacity to foresee Negro suffrage during the war, he now saw that special measures must be taken to insure a Republican victory in November.

An incident occurrred in New Orleans on August 3 to illustrate the Governor's coolness and his fairness to the other side. Although he was willing enough to maneuver for technical advantages, he had no intention of volating the rights of his opponents to make a showing. The Democrats had brought their Negro adherent, Willis Rollins, to the city to make political speeches, and on that day he was on Canal Street with several hundred other Democrats when a crowd of Negroes threatened to attack him. Governor Warmoth was in his rooms at the State Capitol nearby. Two members of the Democratic Executive Committee saw the danger and called on the Governor to quiet the mob. He proceeded at once to the scene and was escorted to the balcony

³³ Warmoth did not notify General Buchanan until after his inauguration on July 13 that the amendment had been ratified. Buchanan then announced that the military would no longer act unless called upon to preserve peace by the proper civil authorities. The Picayune, July 11, reported the Governor as stating he was not yet ready to have the protection of the military withdrawn. Whether the Governor expected the trouble on the day the assembly opened is uncertain. But the use of militia alone saved the Republicans from an attack by the crowd, Buchanan claimed.

³⁴ House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part II, p. 519; Times, August 6, 1868.
35 House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part II, p. 523. Warmoth also claimed that the Democrats would have prevented his getting a militia because that would have insured peace; that peace meant a Republican victory in the election.

of the Constitutional Club, a Democratic habitat. Although not prepared for the occasion, he "delivered a fearless and telling speech to the mob, which at once scattered it like chaff and restored public order:"

My Republican Friends-I come here to ask at your hands that freedom of speech which, as Republicans, we demand for everybody. I have identified myself with you, my colored friends, not only by political association for two years back, but by fighting for four years in the army of the Union for privileges you now enjoy. I have therefore a right, not only in virtue of my office, but as a man, to demand from you protection for every person, whether Democrat or Republican, in the expression of his political views. This man, Rollins, a black citizen of Louisiana has as much right to his own opinions as you or I have to our own. He should and shall be allowed to express them whenever and however he may deem proper; and I call upon every colored Republican to unite with me in giving him and his friends that right of public speech (cries of "we will.") Although this black man, whether from patriotic or selfish motives, it matters not, is a Democrat, while you are Republicans, he is entitled to the same right of protection at your hands as you have a right to be protected in the exercise of the same privileges. He must be permitted to speak when and where he pleases, even if the whole power of the State has to be evoked to sustain him. And now, I ask you all to disperse and go home, and thus testify your willingness and desire to preserve the public peace.36

The opposing papers were happy indeed over the outcome of this affair. One editor wrote that Warmoth "exhibited in this instance that he possessed the mind to understand the exigencies of the hour and the heart courageously to perform this duty." 37

But the Democratic approval of the Governor's actions was momentary. In his letter to Johnson, Warmoth had asserted that men were shot down in the roads, in their homes, and elsewhere, without a question being asked or any steps being taken to bring the offenders to justice. He had it on the best authority that one hundred and fifty men had been murdered in Louisiana in the previous month and a half. The rebels wanted to drive out Union men and control the masses of Negroes. The "K. W. C." was a secret organization throughout the State which intended to keep them suppressed by the precipitation of a race conflict. Further-

³⁶ Times, August 4, 1868.

³⁷ Picayune, August 4, 1868.

more, the mob which threatened the Legislature a few weeks before was prevented only by the presence of the United States troops from reenacting the crime of July 30, 1866, and killing the Speaker and Lieutenant Governor. He told the President that a revolution was intended and that only the United States troops could prevent it. He did not want the militia organized because it would merely mean one political party armed against another.³⁸

This letter to the President created a storm of protest and denial. It was published in papers over the country and caused them to "choose up sides" on the Louisiana question. The New York *Herald* succinctly charged the Republicans with ulterior aims:

... We have no doubt Gov. Warmoth's representations are greatly exaggerated, as well informed people from Louisiana and our Washington correspondents state the truth is there is a probability that the Democrats will carry the State ... by 20,000 or more, which alarms the Governor and his Radical confreres, and they want the United States troops to help them out of the dilemma; they want the aid of the Federal Government to defeat the Democrats, and this is the real secret and motive in calling for troops. What is the duty of the President under these circumstances? Evidently to let the rival parties and factions fight it out among themselves.³⁹

A motion was made in the assembly that Warmoth be requested to furnish the legislators with a list of the persons murdered. Senator E. L. Jewell, a Democrat, offered the resolution, attacking Warmoth in a bitter speech:

[Warmoth had cast vile and malicious slander upon the state in his false reports.] . . . Sir, if there was one man in the State as vile, infamous, low and degraded as this letter attempts to make the whole people, . . . I do not believe that Governor Warmoth would live an hour. . . . He admits that he, as the Governor, as Commander-in-Chief of the militia—as the Grand Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic—is unable to preserve order. . . .

Sir, it seems to be the design and the object of the party over which Gov. Warmoth presides, that they shall create political organizations; that they shall stack buildings with muskets, and with pistols, and with ammunition. . . .

³⁸ Times, August 7, 1868. Whether he said he wanted the militia or not, Warmoth had certainly tried to get arms for it.

³⁹ Quoted in *Picayune*, August 9, 1868. The *Picayune* insisted that such disturbances as existed were not necessarily political.

... the Governor has proclaimed himself, since his election, not a partisan Governor, from the gallery of a building near the crowd which recently assembled around the Constitution Club. He addressed them in words which reflected credit upon him, but, sir, whilst credit has been given to him for those words, they emanated from his lips; they emanated from his brain, but they did not breathe the feelings of his heart. . . . he did not mean what he said, but spoke under a momentary impulse of fear, and because he knew if this contest began what would be the result. . . .

[The position which Warmoth occupied did not justify his letter.] . . . When we look back and find out the manner in which he came to occupy his position—that he was nominated by his own party through fraud and corruption, over a colored man whom I say here . . . was his superior as a man and as a citizen—that he was elected by political demagogues, and adventurers, and mountebanks, who made use of the colored element for the accomplishment of their purposes. Who does he represent? Does he represent the tax-paying portion of the State of Louisiana? Does he represent the white people of Louisiana? Sir, I do not believe that he received five hundred white votes in the entire State.40

Jewell claimed there were no secret Democratic clubs drilling in New Orleans. He even charged that white Republicans were training colored clubs throughout the city. "Was it not remarkable," he concluded, "that in the list of those to be assassinated Warmoth had not included himself?"

A few days after Warmoth's request for military intervention, President Johnson instructed General Buchanan to preserve order, but he failed to mention the necessity of troops, as Warmoth described it.⁴¹ Obviously no troops were to be sent unless Buchanan himself reported the need to General Grant.⁴²

When the Governor learned of Senator Jewell's attack and his resolution to the Senate, he sent a message to the members recommending that they adopt the resolution authorizing a committee to investigate thoroughly the murders and outrages in the state.⁴⁸ The report which this committee made was a purely

⁴⁰ Jewell's entire speech was quoted in the Times, August 8, 1868.

⁴¹ House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part II, p. 515; Times, August 11, 1868.

⁴² Times, August 13, 1868.

⁴³ Senate Journal, 1868, p. 94. In his letter to Johnson, Warmoth mentioned a communication to himself from the District Attorney of St. Landry Parish. The Opelousas Courier of August 29 claimed the Governor entirely misstated the contents of the District Attorney's letter which only accused the neglect of duty but did not indict the whole people of the parish. See Courier, as quoted in the Picayune, September 2, 1868.

partisan document, charged the *Picayune*, to be used as campaign literature.⁴⁴ But the Freedman's Bureau insisted that in one month two hundred and ninety-seven Negroes had been killed in the New Orleans area alone.⁴⁵

Although Congress prohibited the organization of a state militia, the Legislature passed an act allowing Warmoth to create such a body. 46 Failure to get permission to arm the state forces led to the joint resolution, approved October 6, which called on Louisiana Representatives in Congress to back the repeal of any law preventing a state militia. 47 The *Times* editor called the proposed soldiery "this standing army of barbarians."

On September 7, Governor Warmoth signed a political bill known as the Registration Law. Under the act he was to appoint a chairman and two members to a State Board of Registration, and the Board in turn appointed supervisors of registration for each parish to register the voters and furnish them with certificates of registration to be presented to the commissioners of election in November. The parish supervisors kept the registration books, named the election precincts, and appointed persons to attend the polls on election day.

Section 17 empowered the Governor to appoint additional supervisors for each parish to revise the registration books previous to an election. When offering to register, former rebels had to present a certificate of recantation from the Secretary of State. Another provision allowed the supervisors to receive evidence from witnesses that a person applying to register was not so entitled, and from the evidence they made their own decisions which could be appealed only to the State Board of Registration.⁴⁸

Through his power at the top of this pyramid of officials Warmoth had autocratic authority at his command to help him carry the election. The Governor appointed the state registrars, they appointed the supervisors, and the supervisors appointed the polling officials; and appeals from the decisions of the supervisors could be made only to the state board.

⁴⁴ Picayune, October 3, 1868. The editor also claimed the sub-officers of the Freedman's Bureau reported only fourteen murders for the period covered in Warmoth's report. Ibid., August 15, 1868.

⁴⁸ Ficklen, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 214 (f.n.).

⁴⁸ Laws of Louisiana, 1868, Act 38.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Act 139.

⁴⁸ Ibid., Act 56.

Warmoth appointed William Baker Chairman of the State Board. As members, he named C. L. Ferguson, a moderate Republican, and George A. Fosdick, an independent Democrat and former Union man.⁴⁹ Baker turned out to be an obnoxious officer who refused to allow a fair proportion of Democratic registrars. Warmoth must have believed that Baker was exceeding his powers, for he declared that he doubted whether he had the authority to remove Baker, but that he would probably obey the law when the Legislature interpreted it more clearly in a supplemental bill.⁵⁰

Hand in hand with the Registration Law was the Election Bill which Warmoth signed October 19. The supervisors of registration under this law appointed commissioners of election to preside at the polls, preserve order, and commit to prison for the remainder of the day any person who created a disturbance. In case of rioting or other trouble at the polls the commissioners or supervisors made a full report to the Governor who could then order the district judge to examine the evidence. If the judge reported that a fair election had not been held, the governor might then disregard all returns in the ward, precinct, town or parish where the disturbance had occurred.

On penalty of fine or imprisonment, no person was to carry concealed weapons on election day except those authorized by law to preserve the peace. Immediately after the election the commissioners counted the votes and reported the results to the parish supervisors who in turn totaled the results and returned them to the secretary of state. And finally, the latter reported them to the Governor who issued an official proclamation declaring the parties elected.⁵¹

The Election and Registration laws combined in the hands of the powerful political machinery with which he could dominate the election. The National Republican machine had decreed that the Republican party should rule the State, and he was deter-

⁴⁰ Picayune, September 9, 1868. The editor was satisfied with the members but objected to Baker who had been an unpopular official under General Sheridan.

⁵⁰ Ibid., September 20, 26, October 3, 1868; Times, September 30, 1868. Warmoth was reported to have distinctly told Baker to give the Democrats their share of election officials.
51 Laws of Louisiana, 1868, Act 164.

mined that Henry Clay Warmoth should be the medium of that control. He believed in grasping opportunity even before it knocked.

As early as August 14, Warmoth had invited Democratic and Republican leaders into his office to discuss the coming election. It had been proposed that the Republicans, in return for Democratic cooperation in preserving the peace, agree to "make some pledges and assurances" relative to legislation about which the Democrats complained. Certain measures should be withheld at least until after the election.⁵²

In a report of September 22 to the Democratic State Committee, the party Sub-Committee, appointed to confer with Warmoth and the Republicans, complained that the Governor had expressed assurances of action on certain obnoxious measures considered by the Democrats as class legislation. After the meeting on August 14 other conferences were held by leaders of both parties, when, according to a member of the Democratic Sub-Committee, a Republican spoke in such a manner as to leave no doubt that he opposed any compromise like the one suggested: 53

[And the report further stated] . . . it is evident, from the conduct of the Legislature since, that the Chief Executive (to award him credit for good intentions) is powerless; and the committee of the Republican party, in the interest of peace and order, candidly confess their inability to avert, control or postpone the revolutionary legislation of which we complain.⁵⁴

Thus the peace conferences were dropped and no others were held until over a month later when further developments invited new discussions.

After the bloody riot of October 25 in St. Bernard Parish, just below New Orleans, Warmoth suggested to General Lovell H. Rousseau, the new Commander of the Department, that he apply to the War Department for more troops. Washington replied that Governor Gillem of the Mississippi Department would send him aid. Warmoth declared later that he himself at first

54 Picayune, October 30, 1868.

⁸² Times, August 15, 1868; House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part II, pp. 205, 520. No final action was taken at the August meeting, and it was postponed to a future date.

⁵³ Letter of Judge A. G. Brice, member of the Democratic Sub-Committee, in the *Picayuns*. This communication was dated October 1 but was not published until October 31, 1868. Such a law allowing Warmoth to fill all vacancies including those in municipal offices was the party legislation to which the Democrats objected. *Laws of Louisiana*, 1868. Act 27.

proposed the calling of Negro troops then stationed at Ship Island, but Rousseau refused to summon them because such action would only increase the dangers and because no force could protect the Republicans at the polls.⁵⁵ Then on October 25, Warmoth sent the following message to Rousseau:

General: The evidence is conclusive that the civil authorities in the parishes of Orleans, Jefferson, and St. Bernard are unable to preserve order and protect the lives and property of the people.

The act of Congress prohibiting the organization of militia in this State strips me of all power to sustain them in the discharge of their duties, and I am compelled to appeal to you, to take charge of the peace of these parishes and use your forces to that end.

If you respond favorably to my request, I will at once order the sheriffs and police forces to report to you for orders.⁵⁶

The Democrats, without good proof, claimed that Warmoth intended to turn the State Government over to General Rousseau and flee the country.⁵⁷ Rousseau wired the Governor's message to Washington in a telegram on October 26, asking the War Department for further instructions, and was told to take such action as was necessary to preserve peace.58 The Republican Legislature was certainly frightened, however, and it passed a new Metropolitan Police Bill creating the Metropolitan Police District of Orleans, Jefferson, and St. Bernard parishes. The Governor appointed five commissioners who in turn appointed officers and men, including five hundred special "Metropolitans" during disturbances. The Lieutenant Governor was an ex officio president of the Board of Commissioners and the extraordinary power was given the police to make arrests anywhere in the state. Even the authority to call on the military for aid was taken from the mayors and given to the Board.59

On the afternoon of October 26, General Rosseau invited another conference to be held at his headquarters between Democratic and Republican leaders. The Republicans proposed that an arrangement be made whereby the party clubs should

⁸⁵ House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part I, p. 30; part II, p. 516.

⁸⁶ Ibid., part I, p. 31.

⁸⁷ Picayune and Times, October 27, 1868.

⁸⁸ House Journal, 1868, pp. 146-147.

Laws of Louisiana, 1868, Act 74. The election, registration, militia, and a constabulary law of a later date came to be known as the "obnoxious laws." The Metropolitan Bill was unusually included in this category.

parade on alternate days. Although one Democrat present said he feared no collision, he admitted that others present from both parties feared such a possibility, Governor Warmoth being one of the latter group. But the attempt at cooperation failed when the Democrats refused to divide the week for parading. When the impasse was reached, the only agreement made was that no more parades should be held in New Orleans. The Governor then issued a proclamation to this effect. Negotiations had failed largely because the Democratic representatives tried to gain party advantages during the discussions and had exceeded their instructions.⁶⁰

Warmoth was justly aroused at the maneuvers of his opponents that day, and when Mayor John R. Conway of New Orleans called on him early in the evening to request that the Police Board be removed in answer to a petition of fifty citizens whose names he would not reveal, the Governor was in an irate mood. He replied that he not only would not remove the Board, but that if members resigned, he would not leave their places vacant so that the mayor could appoint a new Board. Then Conway and a colleague left the Governor's office a few minutes before nine o'clock.⁶¹

At about eight o'clock General Rosseau was informed that a body of men were coming to the city hall to take possession of police headquarters and he sent army officers to advise the crowd to disperse. Mayor Conway was present when the officers arrived at about nine o'clock and told them the citizens there, including many prominent leaders, had offered him the services of a number of clubs in the city to help preserve the order. The officers replied that General Rosseau had made ample provision and asked that the crowd be requested to leave. General James B. Steedman, one of the Democrats, then told the citizens that Governor Warmoth had that very day offered to surrender the government to General Rousseau, that if they would be patient, the affair would be settled in their own way.⁶²

⁶⁰ For testimony on which these conclusions are based, see *House Misc. Doc.*, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part II, pp. 203-207, 298. It must be remembered that the Congressional committee which investigated the Louisiana election was radical. But most of the testimony was taken from James B. Walton, a Democratic witness who participated in the discussions. Another Democrat, James O. Nixon, testified that Warmoth had proposed to drop the pending legislation in return for Democratic cooperation. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

⁶¹ This is Warmoth's testimony, *House Misc. Doc.*, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part II,

⁶¹ This is Warmoth's testimony, House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part II, p. 518.

⁶² Picayune, October 27, 1868. Conway claimed that he merely intended to preserve the peace. House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part II, p. 527.

As already agreed, Warmoth issued the following proclamation on October 26:

Whereas, the recent collisions in the city of New Orleans and adjacent parishes have produced an excited state of public feeling, which, if not suppressed, can only lead to bloodshed and general ruin to the material interests of the whole State.

Therefore, I, H. C. Warmoth, Governor of Louisiana, do issue this my proclamation requesting all good citizens to refrain from assembling in public places, and specially request that no public meetings or processions of either political party be had prior to the coming election.⁶³

On the following day Governor Warmoth, General A. L. Lee, proprietor of the State Journal (the *Republican*), and General Rousseau met to discuss the possibility of collision at the polls on November 3. All three agreed that if the present conditions of excitement continued, there would be serious trouble in the city on election day. Both Warmoth and Lee thought that to prevent the trouble the Negroes should be advised not to vote. In his annual report Rousseau said:

[Concerning the agreement that the Negroes should not vote]... This was done, and hence the small Republican vote cast in this city, and in many parishes of the State. It can hardly be necessary for me to more than remark that this was a matter over which I could exercise no possible control. The leaders of the Republican party having advised the negroes to stay away from the polls, they stayed away. It was neither in my place or my power to hunt up colored voters who purposely remained in their houses and drag them to the polls. Nor is it necessary for me to say that I had no share in producing the public excitement which induced the Republican leaders to advise the negroes not to vote.⁶⁴

Throughout the election troubles General Rousseau's actions met with the approval of both parties. He wanted to preserve peace and merely suggested compromise whenever possible. Warmoth later declared that much of his information about the doings of the Democratis came from "detectives" in his employ who were members in good standing of the "K.W.C."65

68 House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part II. p. 527.

⁶³ Picayune, October 27, 1868.

⁶⁴ Taken from the Washington National Intelligencer, November 30, as quoted in the Picayune, December 6, 1868.

New Orleans officials complained to Rousseau that the Metropolitan Bill was unconstitutional. On October 28, Mayor Conway and others met with the general at his headquarters, when the latter suggested that they allow the courts to determine the legality of the bill and meanwhile agree on Steedman as Chief of Police pro tem. Newspapers also conferred with Rousseau and agreed to advise their readers to await the action of the courts. Thus on October 28, he issued a proclamation requesting citizens to refrain from assembling in large bodies on the streets and announced that the police force had been reorganized with General Steedman as chief by appointment of the Board of Commissioners. For the present political processions were prohibited.

After the Negroes were advised not to vote, the general excitement was lessened. Concerning the actions of Republican leaders, Rousseau said:

... Gov. Warmoth, with other leading Republicans of the State, made earnest efforts to preserve public order. . . .

The difficulty was not with such gentlemen as these. But the aid they gave was greatly counteracted by the indiscreet and unwarrantable course pursued by other and unworthy members of the Republican party, who, caring little for the Government of the United States, and less for the permanent reconstruction of the State, sought only their own personal aggrandizement, . . . seeming to desire collision and bloodshed as necessary political capital.⁶⁸

From the general's own statements Warmoth and the leaders of the party could not control the more tumultuous elements.

The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York to oppose Ulysses S. Grant, the Republican presidential candidate. Native white Democrats, disorganized in the spring election when Warmoth became Governor, were thoroughly united in the November election. The party and its press urged the Negroes to vote and there is no doubt that if they had come to the polls in ordinary numbers, they would have been allowed to cast their ballots without trouble.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Picayune, October 29, 1868; Rousseau's annual report, ibid., December 6, 1868.

er House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part I, p. 31.

⁶⁸ Rousseau's annual report, *Picayune*, December 6, 1868. General evidence indicates that the Metropolitan police during these troubles were so frightened that they often discarded their coats and official insignia and ran.

⁶⁹ House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 154, part I, p. 57.

Although the Negroes had been intimidated for weeks before the election, their white leader Warmoth, voted and was treated with the utmost courtesy. One Republican claimed, however, the Governor and other leaders of the party did not sleep two nights in the same place for several days before the election. 70 But without the backing of the Federal Government, which Andrew Johnson would not allow, and without the militia which Warmoth had tried to get, the Republican party failed to carry the election for Grant, who polled only 33,263 votes in the state as against 80,225 for Seymour.71 The Picayune accused Warmoth and the Republicans of unfairly throwing out votes so as to report a total of 41.358 for Seymour as against 27.911 for Grant. 2 Only a quirk in the national laws had prevented Warmoth's carrying the election for the Republicans.

CHAPTER III

"CORRUPTION IS THE FASHION"

In 1872 the factional war raged at fever pitch, and accusations of corruption were hurled rampantly by members of the opposing parties. Governor Warmoth expressed his opinion quite brazenly upon the state of affairs in a supposed interview for the Chicago Tribune:

I don't pretend to be honest. . . . I only pretend to be as honest as anybody in politics, and more so than these fellows who are opposing me now. Here are these New Orleans bankers making a great outcry against the dishonesty of the Louisiana legislature. . . .

I tell you . . . these much-absued members . . . are at all events as good as the people they represent. Why, d- it, every body is demoralized down here. Corruption is the fashion.1

Accumulated evidence proved that corruption extended to all parties.² H. Boardman Smith of the Congressional Committee said: "I think injustice has been done the governor by his opponents . . . in laying at his door more responsibility than justly belongs to him for 'extravagant legislation.' "3

 ⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 22.
 71 Cox, Three Decades of Federal Legislation, 551.

¹² Picayune, November 27, 1868.

¹ Quoted in Picayune, February 25, 1872.

² Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, p. 201.

³ House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 38.

By the beginning of 1869 the Warmoth government was well on its way to absolute control of state politics. Most of the lesser officials throughout the state were under the Governor's thumb (and many were Negroes and scalawags who were not selected according to fitness).4 Within the next two years the Legislature passed a series of laws to favor corrupt financial interests, and excessive taxes and bond issues had to pay the price. Such wild spending of state money proved to be the result of bargains between the lawmakers and financial bigwigs in New Orleans whom Warmoth called the "Carondelet Street brokers."

The legislators were more than lavish in appropriating funds for their own uses. Two acts alone in 1868 allowed \$200,000 to be used for the assembly's expenses, and in 1871 they did not hesitate to increase such appropriations to a total of \$500,000 for similar purposes.5 Warmoth signed many of these bills without protest and was to blame for his failure to put in strong objections. Against the most obvious attempts, however, he made real efforts to curb the greedy politicians.

On the first day of the Session of 1869 Warmoth vetoed a joint resolution which authorized the payment of mileage and per diem to separate committees of each house sitting during the legislative recess. He had already warned the assembly that the Constitution permitted only joint committees during vacation. Since then, he declared in his veto message, he had not changed his opinion that such a provision would only cause the state to pay money for services never rendered.7

Although the veto was sustained, the members of the Legislature got around the Governor's objections by setting aside a special contingent fund for each house from which they could pay the separate committees at their discretion.8

A corrupt legislator whose identity was never revealed, "snaked" a clause recognizing gambling houses into the Revenue Bill of 1869. Even before his inauguration Governor Warmoth

⁵ Laws of Louisiana, 1871. Acts 1 and 22. Lonn notes that early in the session the legislators usually provided for their own pay, fearing there would not be enough money to go around. Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 30. Before the war the largest amount ever appropriated for a session was \$100,000. Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, p. 359.

⁶ House Journal, 1868, p. 298.

⁷ Senate Journal, 1868, p. 6.

^{*}Laws of Louisiana, 1869, Act 15. Although the House had withdrawn its separate committees at the Governor's protest, the Senate had authorized twelve such committees to sit between sessions. Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 19.

had entered objections against gambling establishments,9 but no action had been taken. And when gambling houses were licensed, a storm of anger swept over the people of the state who criticized the Governor for signing the bill. In his annual message of 1870 he explained the manner in which the clause got in and his reasons for signing the bill as it stood. Having been informed by the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee that this clause was not in the bill when it was reported to the House, and since there was no record of an amendment of the sort. he believed that the clause was interpolated by some "evil disposed person" after the bill was passed. As the bill reached him at the end of the session, he was faced with the problem of signing it as it was or embarrassing the administration of the laws for the next twelve months. He explained his actions by saying, "If a bill licensing gambling had been presented to me for my signature I should have felt it my duty to have vetoed the same at once."10 The fraudulent section was repealed in 1870.11

The same Revenue Act gave Warmoth vast patronage which might have helped him see the necessity for signing it regardless of the gambling clause. He was empowered to appoint tax assessors (who were also the collectors) for all the parishes of the state except Orleans Parish where assessors were to be elected. 12 In the Revenue Bill of 1870 he was given the additional authority to appoint to the valuable political positions of tax assessors in Orleans where he had already assigned the collectors. 13

The state's financial plight was already deplorable and the increased taxation was almost unbearable. When Warmoth became Governor, the people of Louisiana were experiencing the aftermath of war, devastating floods, bad crops, and a shortage of public credit due to taxes then in arrears.14 During his governorship the cost of collecting state taxes was far too high. In 1871, for example, of a total of \$6,500,000 collected almost \$500,000 went to the collectors. 15 One historian estimated that eventually in the reconstruction period taxation in Louisiana rose to twenty-one and a half mills on the dollar. 16 Charles Gayarré, the distinguished

º Times, June 18, 1868.

¹⁰ See "Gambling Houses" in governor's annual message, House Journal, 1870, p. 11.
11 Laws of Louisiana, 1870, Acts 1 and 12.

¹² Ibid., 1869, Act 114.

¹³ Ibid., 1870, Extra Session, Act 68.

¹⁴ Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 17.

¹⁵ Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, p. 358.

¹⁶ Hamilton, Reconstruction Period, 377.

historian, declared that the property tax in 1873 was ten times higher than in 1850, while the value of the property was much less.¹⁷

Although one man, the Governor, could not have been responsible for all the excesses of the Legislature, there were times when he approved bills which he must have known violated the Constitution. In 1871 he signed a bill raising the salaries of supreme court justices to an amount exceeding that allowed by Article 75 of the Constitution. He claimed that he did not believe the Constitution limited their salaries.¹⁸

And when Warmoth came into office, the debt and liabilities stood at \$14,347,051.02. At the end of 1868 it was \$14,374,928.41.¹⁹ Auditor James Graham declared that the toal debt, including bonds for which the state was contingently liable, was \$41,194,473.91 on June 10, 1871. Of this amount over \$18,000,000 represented bonds which had been granted to aid railroads.²⁰ Graham considered the contingent debt as part of the state's legitimate obligations.

Warmoth disagreed with Graham. According to his own estimate, as compiled by his private secretary, O. D. Bragdon, the \$18,000,000 was strictly contingent on certain conditions before it might become an actual debt. He gave the total debt as of June, 1871, as \$22,295,790.58.21 Whether any of the contingent liabilities could become actual debt, the Governor said, depended first upon the construction of certain railroads for which the state had agreed to endorse second mortgage bonds. In the second place, if these liabilities could become actual debt, it was upon the presumption that the railroads with their facilities and franchises would not be worth \$25,000 per mile, the aggregate of the first and second mortgages. The Governor further claimed there was not the slightest possibility that any of these roads, except the New Orleans, Mobile and Texas road, would ever be constructed. If all were built, however, the state would be secured forever

31 Bragdon, Facts and Figures, 10-13.

from having to pay the endorsement because the roads chartered

Charles Gayarré, Financial and Political Condition of Louisiana (New Orleans, 1874).
 Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, p. 189; O. D. Bragdon, compiler, Facts and Figures; or, Useful and Important Information for the People of Louisiana (New Orleans, 1871), 6.

¹⁹ Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, p. 190; Legislative Documents (Louisiana), 1870, Report of Auditor. 36.

²⁰ Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, pp. 192-193.

would be worth four times the amount gauranteed.22 The dispute as to the amount of the state debt had arisen due to the passage of an amendment to the Constitution in 1870 limiting the total to \$25,000,000 for the next twenty-five years. The State Supreme Court ruled that both contingent and actual liabilities must be included in the debt, and after attempting to get around the ruling Warmoth finally accepted it.23

The Legislature passed a group of laws, most of which the Governor approved, for aid to improvement projects in the state. In a period of extreme national interest in internal improvements the state easily fell into the habit of voting vast aid for railroads, canals, and levees. Although the Republicans strongly supported these bills, the Democrats, too, were in favor of them. Governor Warmoth declared in 1872 that the journals of the assembly proved conclusively that every bill increasing the liability or indebtedness of the state was in some instances introduced by Democrats; and in every instance supported by a large majority of them. Furthermore, he said, every measure not considered a political measure, which conferred extraordinary powers or monopolies was supported by either a majority or a unanimous vote of the Democrats in both houses. And he also declared that such laws were passed by a large majority of the legislators.24

One phase of internal improvements which was handled by the Governor in a manner approved on the whole by both his opponents and supporters was that relative to levees. In his first annual message Warmoth announced that he favored national aid for levee construction in the states, and he continued to urge such a process throughout his gubernatorial career.²⁵ In 1870 he urged the cooperation of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi in the cause of an adequate levee system and recommended that the matter be brought to the attention of the other states and of Congress.26

In the levee program, as in every other phase involving state funds, corruption reared its ugly head. The Legislature chartered the Louisiana Levee Company to control and repair levees on the

²² House Journal, 1868, p. 246.

³⁵ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 342, 343. The Citizens' Committee of Seven appointed in 1873 to consider the debt found that the contingent liabilities created prior to the amendment had lapsed and were therefore null and void. The \$2,500,000 issued to the Chattanooga Railroad, they said, was issued after the debt limitation was set and should be repudiated. William A. Scott, Repudiation of State Debts (New York, 1893), 111.

²⁴ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 211, 284, 285.

25 See "Levees" in governor's annual message, House Journal, 1869, p. 6.

²⁶ Governor's message, House Journal, 1870, p. 10.

Mississippi River and laid a huge tax for the company's work.²⁷ But the corporation failed to carry out its contract, while the levees deteriorated rapidly. In September, 1871, a citizens' delegation informed Warmoth that the planting interests would be seriously injured unless the levees were repaired immediately. The Governor replied that his hands were tied by the company's charter, which he had not favored, but that he would urge the directors to action.²⁸

Convinced that the Company could not comply with its charter in time to prevent serious damage, Warmoth advised the police juries in the river parishes to meet the emergency as best they could, and he would ask the Legislature to reimburse them.²⁹ During a tour to inspect the levees Warmoth told the people of Donaldsonville he hoped to gain control of the levees in the interest of the state and if successful he would get other men to carry out the work or put the Company in liquidation.³⁰

The Republican denied assertions of the Bee that Warmoth was responsible for the Levee Bill; for the Governor had opposed the bill in the assembly and had threatened to veto it, holding off only because its supporters agreed to release the state from the most objectionable features and because it was well known that the bill would have passed over his veto.³¹ In 1872 Warmoth announced that the worst features were obviated as promised and the company had been reorganized with some of the strongest financial men in the state as directors.³²

The Levee Company undoubtedly had failed to fulfill its charter because the original incorporators were interested only in the fat proceeds provided them from the special taxes. According to Warmoth they put up a large corruption fund to get the bill passed. Although he refused to give the names of all the legislators involved, he claimed the incorporators told him they had each put up \$10,000 toward pushing the bill through the Assembly. State Senator John Ray, he declared, was the champion of the Levee Company in the Senate and when the Legislature adjourned, Ray was elected president of the Company at a salary of \$10,000

²⁷ Laws of Louisiana, 1871, Acts 4 and 27.

²⁸ New Orleans Bee, as quoted in the Republican, September 28, 1871.

New Orleans Price-Current, October 18, 1871; Picayune, October 18, 1871.

³⁰ Republican, November 5, 1871.

³¹ Ibid.

³² See "Levees" in annual message, Senate Journal, 1872, p. 11.

a year. He further charged that Speaker George W. Carter had an interest in the Levee Company which had been conceded to him on demand because of his influence in the House.33

Warmoth's general policy concerning levees was accepted by the people as sound. He strongly favored Federal aid in building levees and was a firm believer in the levee system of flood control, although some experts at the time were bitter opponents of this system because they supposed the river would eventually flow in an artificial channel above the level of the country.34

A group of acts passed in the Warmoth period granted unusual or extensive monopolies to corporations backed by legislators and other financial schemers. One of these was the bill incorporating the New Orleans and Ship Island Company. By the first act this "moonshine concern" was authorized to construct a canal from the Mississippi River in Jefferson Parish just above New Orleans, through the Rigolets to Ship Island in the Mississippi Sound. For tolls the corporation could charge any amount it wished.35

In the session of 1868, a supplementary bill to the Ship Island Act was introduced, which became the object of much criticism. Governor Warmoth vetoed it in 1869 for the reason that the engineering objections and legal questions it raised, if well founded, were of so grave a character that he could not assume the responsibility of recording its approval.36 But the act was passed over the Governor's veto; in the House the vote was 63 to 11.

Still further attempts to extend the privileges of the Ship Island Company were embodied in the "Drainage Bill" of 1869. The old Board of Drainage Commissioners was abolished and the Governor was to appoint a single commissioner of drainage who was to collect all drainage taxes in Orleans and Jefferson parishes and receive a fee of two and a half per cent for his work. The Ship Island Company was to receive from the drainage commissioner in installments one-fourth of the uncollected taxes in the

³³ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong. 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 344, 395, 396; Cox, Three Decades of Federal Legislation, 561.

³⁴ Hamilton, Reconstruction Period, 375-376; also mentioned in Warmoth's annual message, Senate Journal, 1872, p. 12. The United States Senate Committee which investigated the Ku Klux conspiracy in several Southern states declared they had heard no objection to the policy of repairing levees nor any denial of the necessity of spending \$3,000,000 for that purpose. Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, p. 198.

³⁶ Laws of Louisiana, 1868, Act 148.

³⁶ Senate Journal, 1869; p. 212.

drainage districts as each section of the canal was completed. The most remarkable clause, however, allowed the Company to select any 400,000 acres of public land as a grant from the state. In return for all these gifts the Company had only to build a protection levee "of suitable dimensions" along the north line of their canal for a distance of five miles, to protect the city from overflow.³⁷

The original charter disturbed no one, the *Picayune* said, because the proposed canal was impossible to build. It was the auxiliary bill which opened the eyes of the public to the real purpose of the company—"the drainage fund, and not the mere facilitating [of] commerce, was the price so cunningly and slyly sought by those enterprising projectors." If the Ship Island Canal Company intended their canal to be used for navigation exclusively, by what right could they ask the legislature to direct the tax levied for drainage into their pockets to assist in digging a canal for navigation?³⁸

The *Times* referred to the bill as the "grandest swindle" and claimed the authors were after the drainage assets of over \$2,000,000 and the 400,000 acres of public land. Christian Roselius, one of the ablest lawyers of Louisiana, said the bill was not a law but a mere act of usurpation of power on the part of the members of the Legislature, utterly null and void, and which no citizen was bound to obey.³⁹

Henry C. Dibble, whom Warmoth appointed judge of the Eighth District Court of New Orleans, believed that the opposition of Charles W. Lowell, Speaker of the House at one time, began when Warmoth refused to sign the Ship Island swindle. The Governor also claimed this to be true and said Lowell was the champion of the bill which passed over his veto and since then had died of popular strangulation. Lowell, who was also postmaster of New Orleans, denied that such a dispute was the cause of any difficulty between himself and the Governor.

Before the bill was passed, the Governor invited Lowell to breakfast at his residence. George F. Brott, president of the Ship Island Company, was also present and later described what hap-

³⁷ Laws of Louisiana, 1869, Act 51.
³⁸ Picayune, December 11, 1868. The State Board of Engineers and most other experts of the day declared that the proposed canal could not possibly be used for both navigation and drainage. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1869.
³⁹ Ibid., March 7, 1869.

⁴⁰ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 278, 385, 395.

pened. The discussions centered around the bill which the Governor was urged to sign. Warmoth told Brott he could not approve the bill but would let Brott write the veto and he would then assist in having it passed over his own veto. That same day, said Lowell, the bill was passed, and the Governor "stood at the Speaker's door and seemed much interested." He even made a little speech in which he said he was glad it went through because its supporters were his friends.⁴¹

Auditor George M. Wickliffe, whom Warmoth charged with corruption in office, declared in his countercharges that the Governor had received a large sum and promises of political assistance for his veto of the bill. Immediately after his veto, said the Auditor, Warmoth went into the Legislature and helped lobby the bill through.⁴² Brott claimed no money was paid to Warmoth; nor did the Company issue any stock to the Governor or make him a gift of the same.⁴³ This did not dismiss the charge, however, that Warmoth helped get the bill through after he vetoed it.

The Ship Island Company failed to retain its monopoly and was soon replaced by another corporation, the Mississippi and Mexican Gulf Ship Canal Company, which received state aid of \$600,000 in bonds to complete a canal between the Mississippi and Lake Borgne. An additional act instructed this company to build drainage canals and protection levees in the New Orleans area, and all the acts granting the same authority to the Ship Island Company were repealed.⁴⁴

Warmoth's opposition to the Ship Island bill might have had some connection with the fact that he owned stock in the Mexican Gulf Company, although this could not be proved. The Governor testified that he had acquired \$100,000 of the company's stock in 1867 at a time when the purchasers were not required to make a payment. He said that an assessment of 20% against the stockholders was made later, but in 1872 he still had not paid for his shares.⁴⁵

42 See Wickliffe's charges, House Journal, 1870, pp. 152-153, no. 10.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 434-435.

⁴³ From the Report of the Special House Committee to Whom was Referred the Charges Preferred against Governor Warmoth by Geo. M. Wickliffe Session of 1870 (New Orleans, 1870), 13.

⁴⁴ Laws of Louisiana, 1869, Act 116; 1871, Act 30.

⁴⁵ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 370.

Although the Mexican Gulf Canal was advantageous to the commercial interests of New Orleans, the aid given to the company was exorbitant. Objections were that the canal as proposed ran through a bayou which lessened the amount of work to be done; while the payments to the company were too high in proportion. Warmoth admitted that the bayou was probably a help in the construction work.⁴⁶

Warmoth supported the Mexican Gulf bill because he had an interest in it. On other occasions he was more careful to look after the interest of the state treasury. He vetoed a bill providing for the survey of Bayou Manchac as a route for a proposed canal to the Gulf, and thereby saved the state a few thousand dollars. The route had already been surveyed once, he said in his message, and there was no need for a new survey at the expense of an appropriation and a committee.⁴⁷

The Legislature in 1868 had appointed a commission to contract for improvement of navigation on the Red River, the cost not to exceed \$135,000 and to be paid in bonds of the state. When the contractors demanded \$80,000 in bonds Warmoth refused to issue more than \$7,000, claiming that work done covered only that amount. The contractors then carried the case to Judge W. H. Cooley of the New Orleans Fifth District Court, who issued a mandamus to compel the Governor to sign the bonds. But he still refused and the case went to the Supreme Court, which sustained his contention that the execution of the Red River act was an executive function and therefore immune from judicial control. Auditor Wickliffe, however, who had his own ideas on the subject, issued certificates of indebtedness on the bonds and they were paid off in the funding bill of 1870.

The greatest financial ventures of the Legislature and the state administration had to do with the granting of subsidies to railroads. By the end of Warmoth's term a total of \$19,000,000 had been piled up as a "contingent" debt of the state—contingent, said the governor, on the building of the roads. By 1872, when a

⁴⁶ Price-Current, September 17, 1879; Times, March 17, 1871; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 367, 370.

⁴⁷ House Journal, 1869, pp. 7, 10; Times, November 13, 1868.

⁴⁸ Laws of Louisiana, 1868, Act 59.

⁴º Picayune, July 4, December 14, 1869.

⁵⁰ Ibid., September 23, 1871.

period of retrenchment in expenditures was demanded by reform advocates, some of the state's aid to railroads had been removed and other bills were then passed effecting additional savings.⁵¹

The New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad Company had sold stock to the state and city before Warmoth became governor. The legislature of 1870 passed a bill authorizing both the state and the city to sell their stock. About the time the act was passed the old city charter had been replaced by a new one which allowed Governor Warmoth to appoint city officials. Just before his men took office the outgoing treasurer obeyed a "midnight order" and sold the city's stock of 80,000 shares. Although Warmoth was accused of some connection with this sale, the first resolution of his new appointees repudiated the action as having been irregular. But Henry S. McComb, to whom the city shares were adjudicated, had gained the favor of Judge Dibble who immediately issued an injunction forbidding the Jackson Company from receiving any other notes than McComb's and a mandamus ordered the entry of his stock on the books. 53

On April 9, Warmoth sold the state's stock (36,360 shares), under the act he had just signed, for four dollars per share to McComb. And McComb thus bought up city stock formerly valued at \$2,000,000 for \$320,000 and state stock valued before at \$884,000 for approximately \$141,000.54

General P. G. T. Beauregard, the president of the railroad, claimed the transfer was illegal and refused to enter it on the books. Judge Dibble issued another injunction prohibiting the company's officials from electing new directors without the inclusion of McComb as a stockholder. And Warmoth directed the state attorney general, in the case of the State ex rel. H. S. McComb vs. Jackson Railroad, City of New Orleans, et al., to take action against Beauregard.⁵⁵

⁵¹ See Laws of Louisiana, 1872, Acts 97 and 100. The Senate Ku Klux Committee reported that Louisiana and the city of New Orleans had paid \$7,092,000 for railroads by 1872. The state in return had 281 miles of railroads at the cost of \$25,238.43 per mile charged to the people. And neither the state nor the city had a penny of direct pecuniary interest in any of the roads. This indicated the state's policy past and present, said the committee. Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, pp. 197-198. As Warmoth reminded his opponents, however, the Democrats years before his administration began had favored large railroad subsides. The policy was not new in Louisiana nor in the rest-of the country.

⁶² Times, April 5, 6, 1870.

⁸³ Ibid., April 6, 1870.

⁵⁴ Herbert, Why the Solid South?, 407.

⁸⁸ Times, April 20, 1870.

During the trial, evidence proved that Warmoth had failed to endorse McComb's bond of \$300,000 (guaranteeing his payment to the state for his stock) at the time it was handed to him. Not until the bond was actually produced as evidence in court did he sign it, and he even admitted that he was not acquainted with one of the three men who enorsed McComb's bond.⁵⁶

When the day for the election of directors came McComb and his supporters held one election, while Beauregard and his men held another. Both claimed to be the valid board. Judge Dibble again prevented the Beauregard directors from exercising their rights to operate the road and declared them to be usurpers.⁵⁷ By July 2 the McComb men were in full control of the Jackson Company.

Evidence as to Warmoth's connection with the sale of road at such a loss to the state was uncertain. J. Henri Burch, a member of the House from East Baton Rouge and an enemy of Warmoth, declared that the Governor had helped unseat the chairman of the House committee which was to investigate the sale: "... The governor came into the house, cursed him, and threatened him if he published his report. I sat in my seat, and he said to me, 'Burch, who was that ... [g--d--"fellow"] who is getting up his report?" Then, said Burch, Warmoth went into the speaker's room and found Otto whom he proceeded to curse. 58

Warmoth claimed Otto was merely a creature of his hated enemy George W. Carter, speaker of the house in 1871-1872. Carter, he said, was the paid attorney of the Jackson road and had devised a scheme whereby the company would be blackmailed by Otto's report which Warmoth claimed was "infamous and slanderous." When the company agreed to make Carter its attorney, he suppressed the report.⁵⁹

Governor Warmoth was strongly in favor of the act granting aid to the New Orleans, Mobile, and Chattanooga Railroad Company. The corporation was given its Louisiana charter in 1868 to build a road from New Orleans to the Texas line; and in 1869

⁵⁶ Ibid., April 20, 21, 1870; Picayune, April 20, 1870.

⁵⁷ Picayune, April 27, 1870. The main objection of the Beauregard men to the sale had been that it was not performed in strict accordance with the law. The Times (April 10, 16, 1870) editor claimed he had made a thorough investigation of the transfer of both the state and city stock and found it entirely valid.

⁸⁸ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 12, 13.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 396. The Republican (March 4, 1871) claimed that if money was paid to get the Jackson sale through it was given to men who were not supporters of Warmoth.

the legislature passed a measure "to expedite the construction" of the road. It authorized the company to issue its second mortgage bonds which the state guaranteed at \$12,500 per mile. While the state held only the second mortgage bonds, the company itself was allowed to issue its first mortgage bonds at the same rate. ⁶⁰

Undoubtedly this railroad was important to the commercial interests of New Orleans, who favored its extension on the Houston.⁶¹ It was generally believed that some other state would seize the monopoly on trade with the Southwest unless the New Orleans road got there first.

Early in 1870 the Legislature voted \$3,000,000 additional aid in bonds of the state to encourage the speedy construction of the Chattanooga railroad. The company had had difficulty in obtaining engineers, and yellow fever epidemics slowed construction.⁶²

When the company had completed the first section of the road the officials demanded the first installment of state bonds—\$750,-000. Charles Morgan, who was interested at the time in a competitive railroad, applied to the Federal courts for an injunction against the bond issue as violating the constitutional debt limit of \$25,000,000. The court refused to grant the writ on the ground that the matter had already been settled by the State Supreme Court. The Governor and Secretary of State then signed the bonds, but the Auditor refused to register them according to the law. Judge Dibble next granted a mandamus ordering Auditor Graham to register the first installment. Dibble's contention was that Graham's function was entirely ministerial and that he had no right to use his own discretion as to whether he should approve the actions of the other state officials.⁶³

Graham then carried the case to the State Supreme Court which had ruled that this amount was valid but that any further appropriation in excess of revenues for necessary expenditures was a violation of the constitutional debt limit.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Laws of Louisiana, 1868, Act 28; 1869, Act 26.

el See comments in *Picayune*, November 6, December 16, 1868; *Times*, April 9, 1869; *Price-Current*, September 10, 1870. The Ku Klux Committee reported it had heard no objections to the state's investment in this railroad. *Senate Reports*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, p. 195.

⁶² House Journal, 1870, p. 10.

⁶³ Times, June 18, 1871.

⁶⁴ See Auditor's report for 1871, Legislative Documents, 1872, p. 159. Warmoth, defending the necessity of the road in 1872, declared that opponents had attempted to forestall the decision of the Supreme Court. See Governor's annual message on "Finances" in Senate Journal, 1872, p. 10. The case before the court was State ex rel. Solomon and Sampson vs. James Graham, Auditor.

The state had been relieved of its obligation to pay the remainder of the \$3,000,000 subsidy to the Chattanooga Company by an act passed in 1871 authorizing the Governor to subscribe to 25,000 shares of stock in the Company at \$100 per share. An annual tax of one mill was levied on all property in the state to retire the principal and interest.⁶⁵

George E. Bovee claimed that Governor Warmoth hurried the passage of this act in anticipation of the decision of the Supreme Court on the debt limitation; that he already believed the limitation had been reached as indicated by his veto of the bill establishing the Louisiana Warehouse Company. In his veto message Warmoth had said:

It will be urged that an endorsement by the State, of bonds to be issued by a private corporation, will not create a debt of the State. I think otherwise. Such an endorsement is an absolute guarantee of payment, both as to principal and interest. . . .

If my interpretation is wrong, then the constitutional limitation to which I call your attention is useless and meaningless. It was adopted in order to check the public debt at a point beyond which it cannot be sustained without ruinous taxation. . . .

Past experience should satisfy you that such an endorsement is, in most instances, equivalent to an original and unconditional obligation to pay.⁶⁶

But the decision of the Supreme Court had merely said that no further debt could be incurred without special taxation to provide the amount involved. And the act establishing the Louisiana Warehouse Company made no provision for taxation to back the guarantee of its bonds by the state.⁶⁷ The Chattanooga bill, on the other hand, included a tax of one mill annually to retire the principal and interest on the amount of the state's stock.

Furthermore, as was pointed out during the questioning of Bovee by the Congressional committee, the bill authorizing the purchase of stock was not an increase of the debt since it was a substitute for endorsement of the government on the second mortgage bonds of the company. In the Warehouse veto Warmoth had

66 House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 249.

⁶⁵ Laws of Louisiana, 1871, Act 95.

⁶⁷ See Laws of Louisiana, 1871, Act 41. Warmoth had vetoed this bill in February, and it was not until April 20 that he signed the act subscribing for stock in the Chattanooga Company.

said that a contingent liability should be counted as part of the \$25,000,000 restriction; but in the Chattanooga bill he had approved a measure which merely changed the type of debt, howeven bad that might have been for the state.⁶⁸

The Legislature passed a bill in 1869 granting state aid to the Louisiana Transit Company at the rate of \$25,000 a mile to build a railroad to Houston. The Governor vetoed the bill because it proposed a road over the same route already provided for in the Chattanooga bill.⁶⁹

At the end of 1871 seven or eight railroads had been given state aid but had failed to take action. Consequently in his annual message of 1872 Governor Warmoth recommended that the charters of these companies be repealed unless work was begun within six months. As for the Chattanooga road, it had made remarkable progress desipte violent attacks by the owners of the opposition road [i. e., Charles Morgan of the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad].⁷⁰

Warmoth had vetoed many of the worst sort of bills which were outright robbery against the state. Others he claimed to have signed because they would have passed over his veto anyway and his opposition would have served merely to increase the antagonism already aroused by his attempts to stop some of these corrupt measures. It can not be proved that this explanation was true; but certainly the legislators were determined to pass the bills and to get their bribe money from the lobbyists. The people and the press throughout the state, especially in New Orleans, were loud in their denunciation of such measures.

Citizens of New Orleans held an "indignation meeting" January 31, 1870, and sent representatives to the Governor to protest against the obnoxious laws and the financial schemes being passed. Warmoth replied to the committee:

... I have ... vetoed a great many bills ... making subsidies and grants... Those bills in a few instances have been passed over my veto ... [and] for these acts of course, I am personally not responsible... [Unfortunately] there are a great many men in our Legislature who are ignorant of the manipulations of ... [lobbyists], men, many of whom have been only recently enfranchised... [The persons benefited by these bills] are your very best people... The best peo-

⁸⁸ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong. 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 249-250.

⁶⁰ House Journal, 1870, p. 34.

⁷⁰ Senate Journal, 1872, pp. 9-11, 16.

ple of this city . . . are crowding the lobbies . . . continually whispering into these men's ears bribes to pass [a bank bill] [They tried to pass a bill to redeem \$5,000,000 in Confederate bonds.] That bill I vetoed. By whom was it lobbied through? By your Carondelet street brokers, who crowded the halls of the Legislature, and thronged the avenues leading to the capitol, taking out member after member, suggesting bribes. . . . I walked into the Senate chamber, and saw nearly every prominent broker of the city engaged in lobbying that bill through . . . and it was only by exposing the fact that one of their emissaries had come into this very chamber and laid upon the desk of my secretary an order for \$50,000, that I was able to defeat it.⁷¹

Warmoth complained that the Democrats spent their energy opposing him rather than assisting him to defeat such schemes: "I have invited you to assist me in defeating them, and you have [given] . . . me no support. . . . Have I been spoken of in your Democratic press . . . as entitled to praise for my conduct in this matter?"

The committee then asked the Governor to give them the names of the men who had offered him bribes, but Warmoth said:

... Do you know a proposition of bribes is a matter of almost every day occurrence, and if I should come forward and publish the man who offered me a bribe, what would be the result? The Democratic press would attack me, and instead of giving me credit, would say I have made enough money, and consequently did not care to make any more.

Business men of New Orleans publicly protested against his blanket accusations.⁷² The grand jury of the First District Court called upon Warmoth to give information on "the very best people" who had lobbied bills. But Warmoth refused to divulge their names, saying there was no bribery law to punish the offenders, though he had urged such a law, and a general announcement would only satisfy public curiosity.⁷³

The Ku Klux Committee reported that while the bankers denied Warmoth's charges, other persons indicated by the Gov-

⁷¹ Picayune, February 3, 1870.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., February 23, 1870; Picayune, February 23, 1870. At the close of the extravagant session the Picayune (March 10, 1870) editor declared: "Governor Warmoth could not, even if he desired it, drive them off until the last chance of making money by selling votes has completely disappeared."

ernor admitted trying to bribe him, but they claimed he was interested against them or already satisfied with the prices offered him:

We have no means of testing the truth of these charges. . . . [But] society and government must be in bad condition when the chief executive and the legislature can be approached with bribes, and the governor can make and publish such charges against citizens and the legislature, and admit that he himself has been repeatedly approached with bribes.⁷⁴

The committee inquired as to the Governor's charges and was told they were true.

R. Milton Speer and Stevenson Archer, Democratic members of the Congressional Committee, claimed Warmoth's power in the Legislature was so powerful that he could pass or defeat any bill he pleased; that he frequently appeared on the floor of the Senate and House to influence legislation. In his testimony he referred to his friends in the assembly as "my crowd" and spoke of them with "that contempt which a thorough knowledge of their character amply . . . [justified.]" On corruption in Louisiana Speer and Archer said:

The world has rarely known a legislative body so rank with ignorance and corruption. . . . [The] honorable . . . members . . . are powerless for good. . . . There is no direct evidence that the governor ever received a bribe for approving or vetoing a bill, and he states, with emphasis, that he has never been corruptly influenced in his official action. 75

Warmoth could pass all bills he wanted to for his own political power; but when bribes for the legislators were involved in financial schemes, even the almighty Governor could not stop them. He controlled the members on political measures; but could not stop the raid on the treasury. Warmoth and William Pitt Kellogg were the most prolific vetoers in Louisiana from 1860 to 1890, probably because of their hostile Legislatures. During his career Warmoth vetoed at least seventy bills and allowed forty others to become law without his signature. The latter, he said, had passed

⁷⁴ Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, p. 202.

⁷⁵ House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 24.

⁷⁶ Alice Douglas Daspit, "The Governors' Messages of Louisiana, 1860-1900." (Louisiana State University, 1932), 77.

with such unanimity in both houses as to make a veto useless and the cause of antagonisms.⁷⁷ The state press wholeheartedly approved his vetoes, and the *Times* said in 1871:

Governor Warmoth certainly possesses one admirable quality in comprehending the judicious use of the veto power. Besides the mischievous bills which have already fallen dead beneath his trenchant pen, we are pleased to record another batch of attempts upon the integrity of the State Treasury, which amount in the aggregate to the saving of over seven millions. That he has disappointed general expectation, in his summary treatment of these schemes, is no less to his credit than to the gratification of the community. So far twenty-one bills of all description have been vetoed. . . . ⁷⁸

In his annual message of 1871 Warmoth warned the assembly that schemers were trying to rob the state treasury:

I warn you, gentlemen, against certain schemes of plunder which are already organizing, and will continue to be organized and presented to you for your votes. These are propositions which, under the guise of public improvements, or of claims against the State, are simply plans to rob the treasury and fill the pockets of unprincipled speculators. The persons who will importune you most pertinaciously for the most barefaced of these speculations are well-dressed gentlemen, claiming to be the representatives of the most respectable of our people. It is these gentlemen in broadcloth, with their gigantic swindles, embracing millions, and not the poor and needy applicants for some long delayed but petty act of justice, who have most depleted the public till in the past, and will endeavor to do so again.⁷⁹

He urged that a law on bribery be considered to stop the plunder against the state and even suggested that the capital be moved to another town where it would be difficult for organizations to influence legislation.⁸⁰

As early as 1870 Warmoth protested against a class of bills designed to relieve individuals with supposed claims against the state. He declared that personal relief bills had become one of the greatest evils of the day. The people who sought remuneration, he said, had failed to discharge the duties incumbent upon them by

⁷⁷ Annual Cyclopedia, 1870, p. 452.

⁷⁸ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 285.

⁷⁰ House Journal, 1871, p. 25.

⁸⁰ One editor noted that the bribery law was one subject which the Legislature studiously avoided. Price-Current, March 11, 1871.

law and then found themselves mulcted in damages, or as contractors hired by the state had declared themselves the losers and expected the state to reimburse them—not for losses known to have been sustained, but for losses they asserted they had sustained.⁸¹ Five such bills alone, for large amounts were passed over the Governor's veto and cost the state well over \$300,000.

Again in 1872, Governor Warmoth, who was making serious efforts for reform, spoke strongly against legislative excesses. The credit of the state had suffered severely because of the reckless manner and almost criminal extravagance with which appropriations had been made for the improvement of real and imaginary bayous, real and fictitious claims against the state, private charitable associations, enormous compensations to officials, and the manner in which \$750,000 had been squandered by the House and another large sum by the Senate during the previous session:

Assembly for mileage and per diem, even at the enormous rate of twenty cents per mile, each way, shows that the total expenses ought not to exceed \$100,000 for the sixty days of the annual session, and the legimate contingent expenses . . . ought not to exceed \$25,000 [for the whole assembly]. Then what has become of the excess \$833,956.50? It has been squandered by the officers of the Assembly in paying extra mileage and per diem of members for days' service never rendered; for an enormous corps of useless clerks, pages, etc., for publishing the journals of each house in fifteen obscure newspapers, some of which never existed, while some of those that did exist never did the work . . .; in paying committees authorized by the House to sit during vacation and to travel throughout the State and into Texas, and in a hundred different ways. . . . 82

Although Warmoth again called upon the Legislature to pass a bribery law, the members refused to do so, and it was not until the end of Warmoth's term that such a law was finally passed.⁸³ The *Times* editor wrote thus "The Governor...recommended such a law, but even his Excellency, who never... [failed] to control the legislature in his own behalf, ... [was not] potent enough to induce that body to give a serious consideration to such a measure."⁸⁴

⁸¹ House Journal, 1871, p. 56.

⁸² Senate Journal, 1872, p. 14.

s3 Laws of Louisiana, Extra Session 1872, approved December 26, 1872, by P. B. S. Pinchback.

st Times, February 3, 1872.

Although Governor Warmoth assumed a doubtful constitutional power and removed several officials whom he charged with corruption, one such man he did not remove was T. W. Conway, State Superintendent of Public Education. Corruption among school officials was quite common and Conway, who was an intimate friend of Warmoth, allowed \$40,000 annually to be stolen by directors.⁸⁵

Numerous charges and countercharges of corrupt interest in bills were piled up by Warmoth, members of the Legislature and other public officials, and financial men of New Orleans.

When the Chattanooga bill was under discussion by the Congressional Committee, Bovee claimed the Governor had an interest in the bill and therefore hurried it through the Legislature. Warmoth denied the charge and swore that he believed Bovee was a liar. So Charles W. Lowell declared that the managers of the Chattanooga bill were friends of Governor Warmoth, and another enemy of the Governor testified that his influence was responsible for the passage of the act; while Warmoth countercharged that Lowell's friend, George W. Carter, was the paid attorney of the Chattanooga road and had obtained the position by refusing to sign the Company's bill until he got the job.

Warmoth charged that the leaders of the faction which arose in the Republican party had had a corrupt interest in several bills. State Senator John Ray, he said, had lobbied through the Legislature a bill granting state aid to the North Louisiana and Texas Railroad and George W. Carter supported the bill granting aid to the Louisiana Transit Company. James F. Casey, he said, was instrumental in passing the Warehouse Bill, and was one of the incorporators.⁸⁸

Senator P. F. Herwig, said the Governor, wrote the bill giving the Louisiana Levee Company monopolistic control of the levee in New Orleans. Casey, too, was interested in the bill and was the custodian of the corruption fund used in the Legislature in its passage. Casey's political objection to him, the Governor claimed, came in part from his refusal to sign the bill.89

⁸⁵ Herbert, Why the Solid South?, 406; Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 82.

⁸⁸ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 371.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 400, 443, 552.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 395, 396.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 395, 396, 399; Senate Journal, 1872, p. 18.

One of the most detestable attempts at corruption was the Nicholson bill proposed in 1869 to pave St. Charles Avenue in New Orleans. Governor Warmoth vetoed this measure and afterward told the citizens' committee that a "gentleman" of the city offered him a bribe of \$50,000 and one-sixth of the company's profits to sign it. When the factional war began, Warmoth announced that John A. Walsh had offered him the bribe. Walsh admitted that he tried to buy the Governor, but claimed he failed because Warmoth said \$50,000 was not enough. Carter and Dunn supported Walsh's accusation. On September 8, 1871, the Governor declared publicly that Walsh's charge was an outright falsehood.⁹⁰

Three days later Walsh sent the famous duelist Peppe Llula, to the Governor's residence with a message calling upon the Governor to name two friends who would be his seconds in a duel to settle the question of veracity between himself and the executive. But the Governor replied that he would appoint two friends and Walsh could appoint two to settle the matter by arbitration. The next day Walsh sent Warmoth a note refusing to submit the arbitration of his honesty to the interpretations of four gentelmen.⁹¹

Warmoth replied hotly that veracity was the real point at issue and not, as Walsh charged, the fact that he had in effect called Walsh a liar. As for the proposed duel, said the chief executive, he could not accept the challenge because dueling was "barbarous and immoral" and he had sworn to execute the laws which prevented dueling.⁹²

Walsh sent the following not to Warmoth on September 17th:

... you make certain charges against me based on what you term the evidence of gentlemen, whose names you mention... The point at issue is as to whether I ever stated that you would not sign the Nicolson . . . bill FOR ANY PECUNIARY CONSIDERATION. I most emphatically deny that I ever said any such thing. I reiterate the charge, that you were not willing, at first, to sign it for fifty thousand . . . but DEMANDED SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS AND TWO AND ONE-HALF PER CENT. OF THE PROFITS FOR YOUR SIGNATURE. I admitted to some gentlemen that I had offered you fifty thousand dollars, and you declined; but the balance not being in your favor, I

⁹⁰ Picayune, Sept. 14, 1871.

⁹¹ Times and Republican, September 14, 1871.

⁹² Republican, September 15, 1871.

made no mention of it. At that time I was your personal and political friend, and when I made mention of the matter, it was in your defense, and you knew it....93

Walsh then said the Governor should publish the statements of John C. Sinnott, Dr. A. W. Smyth, or W. L. Gatlin, whom the people knew, as to what had occurred when the bribe was offered.

Warmoth obliged by announcing the statements of these men who appeared to defend the Governor's position. Catlin even reported Walsh's conversation thus:

The governor told me that he would take pleasure in signing the bill for me, if it were right to do so, without any consideration, but that it would be like the State paying for the pavement of the road in the parishes. He said the governor could not be induced to sign the bill, and that he, the governor, was right in his views of the matter.⁹⁴

But Walsh claimed Sinnott declared the Governor's use of his name was unauthorized, and the whole affair appeared to leave unsettled the exact position of the Governor. The *Republican* asserted that even if he *had* said his signature was worth \$75,000 he did not necessarily mean he would *sign* the bill for that amount.⁹⁵

Soon after the close of the session of 1871, Governor Warmoth obtained an injunction in Judge Dibble's court preventing Auditor Graham from issuing certain warrants which the Governor claimed had been fraudulently awarded. Speaker Carter, he asserted, had corruptly ordered entry of resolutions for these warrants in the House Journal, although he knew that they had not been adopted by the House.⁹⁶

Carter denied the charges against himself, but Warmoth claimed it was a notorious fact that the resolutions had not been introduced up to 8:30 on the last day of the 1871 session. And from that moment the House was in a constant uproar so that no bills could have been passed.⁹⁷

⁹³ Times, September 17, 1871.

⁹⁴ For the statements of Smyth, Catlin, and Sinnott, see Republican, September 17, 1871.

⁹⁵ Ibid., September 7, 1871.

⁹⁶ Picayune, April 17, 1871; Times, April 7, 1871; Annual Cyclopedia, 1871, p. 471.

⁹⁷ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 396, 400.

William Vigers, clerk of the House, testified that the Journal with the resolutions entered was correct; but Governor Warmoth pointed out the curious fact that the Journal for the last day was not published until sixteen days after the close of the session. 98

The experts appointed by the court to examine the House records reported that a regular system of forgery had been practiced in changing figures on warrants, and that excessive warrants were improperly issued. No charges, however, were laid against anyone involved.⁹⁹

Under the funding laws Warmoth and the other two members of the State Board of Liquidation were authorized to redeem the floating debt of the state with bonds. The amount of the debt was higher than the total sum voted for the purpose, and the Governor was careful to take care of his friends who held warrants against the state.

Several individuals whose warrants the Board refused to exchange filed suit in the Eighth District Court against the Board of Liquidators for a mandamus to get their certificates exchanged. But Judge Dibble ruled that since the volume of warrants and certificates exceeded the remaining bonds, the Board could legally use their own discretion as to whose warrants they would recognize. On an appeal, the Supreme Court upheld Dibble's decision and said it could not issue a mandamus telling officers how to perform their duties.

Governor Warmoth admitted that he signed the Funding Bill at 10:30 a.m., four hours before Speaker Carter signed it for the House. He hurried over to the Citizens' Bank earlier in the morning and told John Gaines, a member of the Board of Liquidators, that the bill would be signed that day. Meanwhile, he handed Gaines a number of warrants belonging to his friends to be exchanged before "outsiders" could interfere. There was some evidence that the funding board might have received ten cents more on the dollar had they not been so anxious to help their friends. On this point, however, the chief executive was unable to give a satisfactory answer.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Picayune, April 12, 1871; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 396.

⁹⁹ Annual Cyclopedia, 1871, pp. 471, 472; Herbert, Why the Solid South? 403.

¹⁰⁰ Times, March 15, 1871.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., March 29, 1871. ¹⁰³ Ibid., May 24, 1871.

¹⁰³ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 366, 367, 368.

The Governor assailed his enemies with specific charges of interest in the biggest swindles going on; but they could only reply that they believed him to be dishonest. The Congressional committee attempted to find out if the Governor corruptly influenced legislation.

J. Henri Burch did not believe the Governor had embezzled government funds, but he thought that some of his actions were inconsistent with the state's integrity. Carter said the Governor had "winning ways." He could say from personal knowledge how the Governor was not ostensibly in favor of the various schemes, but he looked after his own interests whether doing good things or bad:

When I speak of Governor Warmoth's controlling elections and legislation by corrupt means, I mean through his agents. I am satisfied that he uses money to control legislation. If you ask my proof I cannot prove it. He has never offered me money. . . . I do not know the way he does it directly, but that legislation is controlled by corrupt means everybody knows.

- J. C. Moncure, who was supposed by some people to be the only man in the House, told a Congressional investigating committee that the Governor could pass or defeat any bill he pleased, and when anything of interest was going on he was one of the most active canvassers of the house:
 - Q. What do you mean by saying the governor can pass any bill he pleases; how does he control the legislature?—A. I cannot say how he controlls them or by what influence. I can only tell you the facts, according to my belief, that he has influence in the house to pass any measures he pleases.
 - Q. Do you mean that that influence is merely the expression of his wishes, or that it is a corrupt influence?—A. My firm conviction is, that the governor does not control members by corrupt influences.

Henry C. Dibble, who was friendly to the Governor, said it was true that the Governor appeared upon the floor of both houses urging legislation; but he did not believe the Governor was corrupt, but justified his action in preventing the passage of improper bills.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ The above statements are from House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 28, 31, 57, 278, 282.

To these charges of questionable actions, Warmoth replied that he had never made money in anyway except his salary and had never been guided in his official conduct by the hope or promise of reward. He admitted that his government was guilty of abuses, but would not say it was guilty of frauds.¹⁰⁵

Many people charged that the Governor required undated resignations from his appointees, and some historians have accepted the accusations as true. However, the facts brought to light by the Congressional Committee indicated that only in the case of four or five members of the New Orleans City Council was the charge true. In these instances the men appointed had agreed with the Governor that his holding their resignations was expedient because of the difficulty of obtaining officers satisfactory to the Democrats and the Republicans. 106

It was generally believed that Warmoth made \$100,000 his first year as Governor and that he had boasted of this to a friend. Warmoth declared he might have said that, but he refused to make a definite statement when quizzed by a Congressional Committee, nor would he declare how much he was worth. The usual opinion was that the Governor had bought up securites at fifty or sixty cents on the dollar and then sold them when they had increased in value because of some act of the Legislature. 108

In March, 1869, Governor Warmoth discharged George M. Wickliffe, and because of this action, the Grand Jury indicted him on fourteen counts of corruption in office. Wickliffe had been elected Auditor of Public Accounts at the same time that Warmoth was made Governor. Pending trial, Warmoth got the police to help him install L. T. Delassize, a wealthy Negro, in Wickliffe's office at Mechanics' Institute. 109

The judges of the New Orleans courts, who had equal jurisdiction, started a battle of injunctions; some favored Delassize, and others were for Wickliffe, depending probably on their personal estimates of the Governor. Finally in April, 1869, the jury acquitted Wickliffe and the judge discharged the jury with a reprimand, for there was abundant evidence of Wickliffe's

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 358.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 123, 236, 254, 265-266, 326.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 341.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 367, 369; Times, February 11, 1872; Picayune, February 20, 1872.

Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 47; Times, March 26, 1869.
 Picayune, March 28, 30, 1869; Times, March 27, 1869.

guilt.¹¹¹ On technical grounds the Supreme Court then upheld Wickliffe, and he continued in office for a while longer though not at the State House from which the Governor had ejected him with the aid of Metropolitan Police.¹¹²

For several months the "imgroglio" smouldered. Then Wickliffe decided to move his effects back to the State House. On the night, or early morning, of December 30, 1869, the Auditor secretly moved his records into his old office. The second act of this comic opera began when Governor Warmoth called in the police again and informed Wickliffe that all the rooms in the State House were needed for the Legislature; that he, the Governor, was responsible for the building. To keep Wickliffe out, Warmoth nailed up the door to the office and put two sentinels on guard. On the order of Judge W. H. Cooley the Superintendent of Police removed his men, but at the Governor's request left a detail to act under his orders. The Governor then had his men take the Auditor's belongings from the room and dump them outside on the banquette of the building. Finally they were hauled away in carts to Wickliffe's office on Royal and Conti streets where they remained until the Legislature met and took action on Warmoth's charges. 113

Within a few days the Governor sent a special message to the Legislature charging Wickliffe with offenses against the constitution and the laws of the state. He had extorted money from the State's creditors before he issued the warrants to which they were entitled, had issued varying amounts of warrants to newspapers which had done the same amount of work, and paid money to one thousand persons under the act for veterans of 1814-15 when the courts had found only one hundred and fifty entitled to pay.¹¹⁴

The *Times* editor took the Governor's side in his attack on Wickliffe and protested that the other papers were either indifferent or sided with the Auditor merely to make capital against the Governor.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Picayune, April 27, May 11, 1869.

¹¹³ Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 48.

¹¹³ Picayune, January 1, 1870; Times, January 1, 4, 1870.

¹¹⁴ See Warmoth's message on Wickliffe, House Journal, 1870, pp. 11-13.

¹¹⁵ Times, January 8, 1870.

Wickliffe presented to the Legislature his countercharge, accusing the Governor of corruption, violation of the constitution, bribery, and fraud. 116 The House appointed a special committee to investigate the charges, and the committee reported it found no foundation whatever for any one of them. And Wickliffe himself admitted that he could not specify any of them personally.117

Before Wickliffe's charges were received, the House on January 31 voted resolutions of impeachment against the Auditor and proposed that the Assembly adopt a joint resolution suspending him from office until the trial. The Governor had already assumed what he described as his "inherent right" to protect the government and execute the laws and had suspended Wickliffe by executive action, although Wickliffe was elected by the people and should have been removed by the Legislature only after the adoption of articles of impeachment. 118

The trial began on February 14 and continued to the end of the session. On March 3, Wickliffe was unanimously voted guilty on Article 4 of the impeachment charges. 119 The ex-Auditor saw the impending sentences and tried to avoid it by offering to resign on the last day of his trial.120 He had been sentenced to prison for failure to turn over certain records to the acting Auditor and was released on bail. Hoping to escape further prosecution he slipped out of town and was never heard of again in Louisiana.121

It had taken Governor Warmoth a year to rid the state of Wickliffe, whose guilt was obvious enough. But his methods were not entirely legal; for he had assumed power not authorized for the chief executive when he suspended Wickliffe and appointed an acting Auditor. He removed another official who had been elected constitutionally, George E. Bovee, Secretary of State.

In February, 1871, the legislature passed the Bayou Bartholomew bill and the Crescent City Water Works bill. The supporters of these bills were so anxious to get them to the Governor for

¹¹⁶ Wickliffe's thirty-four charges are in House Journal, 1870, pp. 152-155.

117 See Report of the Special House Committee to Whom Was Referred the Charges Preferred against Governor Warmoth by Geo. M. Wickliffe printed as a pamphlet by the State Printer (New Orleans, 1870).

118 See Senate Debates, 1870, pp. 347-382, passim.

119 Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 50; Picayune, March 4, 1870.

¹²⁰ Times, March 4, 1870. 131 Ibid., April 13, 1870; Picayune, April 15, 1870; Herbert, Why the Solid South?, 410.

his signature that they sent them to his residence about 11:00 p. m. the night of February 25, and the Governor's housekeeper wrote a receipt for the bills, saying she would deliver them to the Governor the next morning. When he learned this, he refused to receive the laws at his residence instead of at his office, which was the usual place. Thus Warmoth considered that he received the bills on Monday, February 27, and that since the Legislature adjourned on March 2, he had held them only three days. Therefore, he was entitled to veto or approve them at the next session of the Legislature.122

Meanwhile, Bovee had a duplicate of the Crescent City bill promulgated in two small papers on August 26, accompanied by a statement that the bill had become law by the constitutional time limit. The Governor had already informed Bovee that he did not consider the bill as received in his office before February 27 and that the promulgation of the law would be fraudulent. 123

When Warmoth learned of Bovee's presumptuous action, he wrote an executive order suspending him and putting Francis J. Herron in his place until the meeting of the Legislature. Under the Intrusion in Office Act, Bovee filed suit in the Eighth District Court to get his office back, but Judge C. M. Emerson decided that Article 65 of the Constitution directed the Governor faithfully to execute the laws of the State; that since the process of trial and impeachment were too slow to prevent public injury, the Governor had the implicit power to suspend the Secretary of State.124

This "persistent exercise of implied powers" was attacked by the Picayune editor who said that the Constitution never intended the Governor to assume such an extreme power. The Republican cited Article 122, which stated that all officers were to discharge their duties until their successors were qualified, "except in cases of impeachment or suspension." By this clause and the use of or [a disjunctive word] suspension was not meant as suspension following impeachment, so that the Governor could act when no law provided for the punishment of the official concerned. 125

¹²² Picayune, August 30, 1871.

 ¹⁹³ Republican, May 5, August 30, 1871; Times, August 30, 1871.
 194 Picayune, October 12, 1871.

¹²⁵ Republican, October 11, 1871.

¹³⁶ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 242.
137 Ibid., pp. 331-332. The ruling of the Supreme Court in the Bovee Case was based on the failure of the District Attorney to take an appeal within the lawful time.

When Bovee carried his case to the Supreme Court, the justices dismissed it on a technicality.¹²⁶ But the Court, in a similar case, had decided against the opinion of Judge Emerson.¹²⁷

Thus Governor Warmoth dealt with corruption, often in a summary manner. On the whole his faults lay in assuming questionable powers under the Constitution, in sometimes appointing questionable characters to office, and in supporting political measures tending to increase beyond all precedent the autocratic authority of the Governor of the state. In the political field he was truly the "Boss Tweed" of Louisiana; but in financial matters he made genuine efforts to curb the greedy legislators, often without success. As Carter had said, he looked after his own interests, whether doing good things or bad.

Scalawags and carpetbaggers in person, individually and collectively, plundered the state almost at will. As Warmoth had said, some of these scalawags were "respectable" business men of New Orleans of many years' standing. Scalawags from other Southern states found the doors to the public treasury of Louisiana wide open and so inviting that they rushed in without let or hindrance. Carpetbagger business men, too, opened shop in New Orleans and were soon working smoothly with the crooked legislators.

While reconstruction facilitated the process of buying public officials, who in turn originated some of the choicest deals for themselves, there was no reason to assume that Louisiana would not have been as corrupt as the rest of the country in this era of big business in politics. The South had fewer railroads and corporations that the North, and the sudden expansion of business concerns, which bought up Legislatures "as easily as spring chickens were bought on the Cincinnati market," would certainly have overflowed into the South with or without reconstruction. Warmoth himself described how a New York concern headed by ex-governors and bankers of Northern states and the unscrupulous Oakes Ames of the Credit Mobilier scandal applied to the Louisiana Legislature for the charter to build the Chattanooga Railroad from New Orleans to Houston, Texas. 128 Business men, on the order of Oakes Ames were not products of reconstruction.

¹³⁸ Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 81-82.

CHAPTER IV

DICTATORSHIP FOUNDERS UPON FACTIONALISM

When the legislature adjourned in the spring of 1870, Governor Warmoth appeared to be in full command of his party. A new series of "obnoxious" laws were passed furthering the executive's already despotic powers, and Warmoth signed them all. But no sooner had the laws gone into effect than the party began to divide on the question as to just how far they were willing to go in making the Governor the world's greatest autocrat.

The most direct proof of the Governor's ambitions lay in his anxiety to have an amendment passed making himself eligible for re-election. He said later that division in the Republican party began when he signed the bill. The Governor admitted that he had had a great deal to do with the passage of the act; for he wanted to put himself in position to be governor again if the people wanted him. It was "gratifying" to a man of his age "to wield power and do good."

The election for Representatives to the State Legislature was to be held in November, and the Warmoth party had passed the Election, Registration, Militia, and Constabulary laws to aid the Governor in controlling the election.

Historical annals have seldom recorded more violent debating and more stormy protests from the people than those which met the Election Law. Despite all opposition, however, Governor Warmoth signed the bill on March 16, 1870.3 This bill was undoubtedly the ultimate example of kingly powers in a democracy, for Governor Warmoth's capacity to control the elections held under the law was amazing. The Governor appointed all registrars; they in turn appointed commissioners of election to preside at the ballot boxes, determined the location of all polling places, and examined the right of any person offering to vote. The Governor received all reports of disturbances at the time of registration or election, and no parish or district judge could interfere with the duties of the commissioners under liability to prosecution by him.

¹ Laws of Louisiana, 1870, Extra Session, Act 11. This abrogated Article 50 of the Constitution. Of course the amendment would have to be voted on by the people in the next election.

³ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 329, 351.

³ Laws of Louisiana, 1870, Act 100.

The people of New Orleans were incensed at the provision allowing the Metropolitan Police Board to inquire into and report to the registrars all persons fraudulently registered in Orleans and Jefferson parishes. The law stated that the "whole care of the peace and order of the cities of New Orleans, Jefferson, and Carrollton, and in the parishes of Orleans, Jefferson, and St. Bernard . . . [were to] be in charge of the Metropolitan Police, subject to the orders of the governor."

The Governor received all the returns of the elections, and Section 54 created a sinister device known later as the Returning Board. The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, the Secretary of State, and John Lynch and T. C. Anderson were declared to be the returning officers who should determine who was elected to office in the state. They had the power to throw out the votes at any poll where they believed disturbances had occurred. Under such a power the vote of a whole parish could be voided, or any number of parishes!

On election day no person could carry arms except those authorized by the Governor or his officials of election. And the Governor had sole authority to secure a "fair, free and peaceable election."

This law, said one Senator during the debate on the bill, would give the Governor more than imperial power; behind it was an armed Grecian horse with which he would ride over the rights of the people. Warmoth could elect anybody he pleased regardless of their politics. Let his Republican enemies take care! A member of the Governor's party opposed the bill as looking to the preservation of that party's power. 5

H. N. Ogden, a fiery Democrat, raised a great outcry against the Election Law, calling it the "sepulchre of the peace of the people.

that this [bill] is the snake in the grass—the very form that the devil himself assumed when he seduced our mother Eve. I tell you this is a devil, covered and concealed, perhaps, under perfumed flowers, but nevertheless, the devil—his tail comes out, and not only his tail, but his horns and hoof. I tell you that this bill is a devil of a bill—the concoctors of the bill are devilish fellows, and the only way we can

⁴ Senate Debates, 1870, p. 147.

^{*} Ibid., p. 149.

destroy their sulphuric power is to give them hell. (Laughter.) The President [of the Senate]: Let us have order. Mr. Ogden: There is no order in hell, sir. The President: That is the reason I want it here.6

Rancor over the Election Bill was so bitter that one of the most despotic of its many despotic sections was stricken out of the final bill. It would have allowed the Governor to declare martial law during election or registration.7

Act 99, the Registration Bill, allowed the Governor to appoint a State Registrar who should keep all registration records of the State.8

Under the Constabulary Bill, Act 74, Warmoth appointed constables for all the parishes except Orleans, Jefferson, and St. Bernard, where the Metropolitan Police were in operation, to preserve the peace and arrest all persons charged with murder, manslaughter, or other crimes, Section 10 was the most obnoxious feature of the law, since it declared that the Governor could, if he saw fit, authorize the chief constable of any parish to assist the constables of another parish, and the Governor could name such officer as he deemed proper to command the whole force. The constables appointed under this law even replaced the constitutionally elected sheriffs of the people.9

Act 75, the Militia Law, made Governor Warmoth commander-in-chief of the State Militia to be composed of citizens between 18 and 45 who were not disfranchised by State or Federal laws. He appointed all the men and their officers and armed and equipped them at state expense. 10 The Militia, Registration, and Constabulary laws were passed with relatively little debate, the legislators being worn out after the violent debates on the Election Bill.11

Not satisfied will all these great powers for the Governor, the lawmakers passed a fifth "obnoxious law" which permitted Warmoth to issue warrants for the arrest of persons anywhere in the State. He could direct any sheriff, constable, or policeman to execute his warrant with the aid of as large a posse comitatus as he deemed necessary.12

⁶ Ibid., pp. 168-169. ⁷ Annual Cyclopedia, 1870, p. 453.

⁸ Laws of Louisiana, 1870, Act 99.

⁹ Senate Debates, 1870, p. 94.

Laws of Louisiana, 1870, Act 75.
 Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 61-62.

¹³ Laws of Louisiana, 1870, Extra Session, Act 40.

Senator A. B. Bacon, though a Republican, objected to this law but was careful to declare his faith in the Governor. It was bad enough, Bacon said, for the Governor to send sheriffs to arrest anybody; but it was much worse if he could send constables on a roving mission to arrest people. He was not willing to confer such large powers on the Governor, and he thought there were a good many Republicans present who felt the same way; not that he had anything against the Governor, but he merely felt it was improper for one man to have such extraordinary power, were he an apostle.¹³

Further hints at the dissention in the party over the Governor's powers were indicated in Senator Ogden's remarks on Bacon's speech:

himself, but the Republican Senators, to the language which, perhaps incautiously, but truthfully fell from the lips of the Senator. He says, upon the point of giving to the Governor powers which, perhaps, do not properly belong to him: "I desire the Republican Senators to know that there must be no cavil upon this question." In other words, he desires the Republican Senators to know and feel that when the Governor of the State of Louisiana, represented upon this floor by the distinguished gentleman, deems a policy proper for the Government, no matter how objectionable it may be to the elements of the Republican party, they must obey the ipse dixit and the mandate of the Governor.14

The courts of Orleans parish had often interfered with Warmoth's assumption of authority, and the Legislature obligingly passed a bill creating the Eighth District Court which had exclusive jurisdiction to issue injunctions, mandamuses, and writs of *quo warranto*. The Court also decided any case of contest for office, whether it be state, parish, or municipal.¹⁵

The Governor appointed his friend Henry C. Dibble as judge of the Eighth District Court on March 26, 1870, and Dibble admitted that he had actually drafted the bill creating his court. The law was necessary, he said, to correct the evils under the old law which gave concurrent jurisdiction in these matters to the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh District Courts. The Governor had urged the appointment upon him and he took it. 16

¹³ Senate Debates, 1870, pp. 119-120.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 123-124. 15 Laws of Louisiana, 1870, Extra Session, Act 2.

¹⁶ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 266.

Thus Governor Warmoth was enabled by these political laws to carry out almost any wish he might have. He controlled the Metropolitan Police, the State Militia, the Constabulary, the appointment of all election officials; he could make arbitrary arrests; he had his friend H. C. Dibble in the most powerful court of Orleans Parish and a returning board which supported him at the time on matters pertaining to the coming election.

Late in January more than one hundred leading citizens of New Orleans met in the St. Charles Hotel to discuss the bad laws being passed in the Legislature. From this meeting evolved the great mass assembly in Lafayette Square on January 31 to protest against the measures then pending before the Legislature. The people adopted resolutions declaring that the "obnoxious laws" in connection with former legislation would concentrate in the hands of the executive "dangerous influence over all the branches of State government, and make him an absolute despot, clothing him, at the same time, with the means of perpetuating his power."¹⁷ Their opposition was not directed against Warmoth personally; they were against the granting of such unlimited power to any man. The meeting appointed a committee of one hundred citizens to request the Governor's aid in fighting these laws.

Warmoth's hypocrisy was much in evidence when he said to the committee:

. . . I do not want any laws that are going to establish a despotism in this State. I shall be Governor only a short time. I am not eligible for election a second time by express provision of the constitution, so I can have no object in passing these laws to reelect myself. What I say to you is this: Whatever may be the pressure brought to bear upon me to induce me to sign these bills, they shall be considered, and executed, if signed, as far as I am concerned, with perfect regard to the interests of the whole people.¹⁸

But the Governor had signed all the obnoxious laws after the Lafayette Square protest, including the amendment making him eligible for re-election. Since the Legislature had wasted much time in debate, he even called it into extra session in March to pass the remaining obnoxious law.¹⁹

¹⁷ Times, February 1, 1870.

¹⁸ Picayune, February 3, 1870.

¹⁹ See the Governor's message on matters to be considered at the Extra Session, Senate Journal, 1870, pp. 234-235.

Suspicion of Warmoth's intentions broke into open accusation at the Republican State Convention held in the summer of 1870. The Governor's policy on the social equality bills had already aroused the colored elements of the party, and when he refused to sign the Social Equality Bill passed in 1870 their enmity was firmly fixed. When the Convention met on August 8, Warmoth still held the unsigned bill and the Negroes led by Dunn were definitely opposed to him.

On the opening day the Governor was elected temporary chairman, but when nominations were made for permanent president, both the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor were nominated, and Dunn got the bid. Dunn won because the Negroes were opposed to Warmoth, and many of the Federal office holders in Louisiana, called the Customhouse Republicans, supported Dunn. According to Charles W. Lowell, postmaster of New Orleans, the anti-Warmoth wing agreed among themselves that since Warmoth was appointing officers whom he could control, and since Dunn was the representative man of the colored race, he should be chosen president of the convention.²⁰

S. B. Packard, another Customhouse official and U. S. Marshal in Louisiana, declared that a few Federal officials had first begun to oppose Warmoth before the convention. Then the Federal men learned that Warmoth, during the election of delegates, was trying to control the convention and they swung the entire support of their group to Dunn.²¹

According to the Governor, however, the Customhouse Republicans first turned against him because he had vetoed a number of financial bills in which they were interested, in 1869.²² Their enmity began, and broke out into open opposition when the Legislature had passed the amendment making him reeligible, and they combined their forces to defeat him for the presidency of the convention.²³

A resolution of censure was introduced in the convention against the Governor for not signing the Social Equality Bill, but its supporters were afraid to make such an open fight, and the resolution did not pass. Warmoth claimed his opponents told

²⁰ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 436.

²¹ Ibid., p. 120. Packard claimed, too, that there was no personal difference between himself and the Governor.

²³ See Governor's charges against the Customhouse "Crowd," ibid., pp. 395-399.

²³ Ibid., pp. 298, 329.

the Negroes that he was responsible for the loss of all their rights; that if the Bill was passed, all the hotels, theaters, and barrooms would open their doors to the colored men; and that Warmoth was the great stumbling block. He then explained to them that such a bill was useless and would gain nothing for the Negroes except hatred, and the resoltion was not passed.²⁴

P. B. S. Pinchback, a colored man who usually stayed on the fence and changed sides when it suited his own ambitions, was with Warmoth at this time. He charged that Lowell, before the convention met, had called primary meetings for election of delegates to the convention and told the Negroes that Warmoth had broken faith with them; if his administration was sustained not a colored man would be left in office in another year. Thus the convention was a fight between white (Warmoth) and black (Dunn). And on this issue Warmoth was defeated for president of the convention. The quarrel then was not between the Governor and the Customhouse men, but between the Governor and Lowell who, when elected to the State Central Committee, turned it against Warmoth and concentrated his efforts toward defeating the amendment making him eligible to run again.²⁵

Before the convention ended, Lowell made a motion that the Republican State Central Committee be composed of ten members elected by the delegates and five appointed by the chair. Acting on this authority, Dunn appointed five anti-Warmoth men, and the majority of the other ten were opposed to the Governor; so that the Dunn-Customhouse faction controlled the State Executive Committee of the party.²⁶

The Governor refused to cooperate with this committee, which opposed him, and instead, organized an "auxiliary" committee of his own. His appointees in office were required to make their campaign contributions for the coming election to this committee rather than to the customary State Central Committee. Warmoth wanted this committee to insure the passage of the eligiblity amendment.²⁷

³⁴ Ibid., p. 298; Times, August 12, 1870. The Governor had said that he would help the Negroes all he could except when they asked things beyond the Constitution.

³⁵ From the Cincinnati Commercial, August 24, 1871, as quoted in the Republican, September 2, 1871. Lowell claimed that his opposition to Warmoth began when the Governor made a violent speech in the convention against him in relation to the resolution of censure, calling him a liar and an ingrate. House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 437.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 299, 437.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 122, 273, 279, 382-383; House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 3.

When the campaign began for the election in November, 1870, Warmoth toured the state in behalf of this amendment. He appointed as supervisors of registration persons who were friendly to him, including at least sixteen Democrats, and declared this was necessary because he could find no Republican friends who would take the job for fear of intimidation. In perhaps thirty instances he appointed men from Orleans Parish to act in parishes where they were completely unknown to the people, and some of these unscrupulous adherents got themselves elected to the Legislature.²⁸ The Congressional investigators put the Governor on the carpet and he defended himself in the following manner:

Q. Did you use your patronage in the appointment of these supervisors of registration to aid yourself?—A. No, sir; except so far as that gentlemen I appointed I regarded as republicans and as friends of mine. I appointed no personal enemies that I know of, and I removed them wherever I had the power. I removed men who were individual enemies of mine. It is the custom of governors.²⁹

Oscar J. Dunn was undoubtedly the choice of the colored Republicans of the State. His honest devotion to the cause of his race was never questioned by anybody but the Governor whom he opposed. The party convention in Orleans Parish clearly indicated Dunn's support.

The colored element of the party are not only in the majority, but seem to be fully aware of it... The most casual observer can see at a glance that to all intents and purposes Oscar J. Dunn is the head and front of the Radical Republican party in this State, and it is very certain he is the only man who seems to have the slightest influence in their convention.³⁰

The kind of work carried out by Warmoth's supervisors was illustrated in St. Landry Parish. Notice should have preceded the election of November 7, by at least thirty days, but it was not made until October 29 and then it called for only fifteen polls rather than thirty-two or thirty-three as had formerly been the practice.³¹

²⁸ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 55, 120, 155, 381, 382, 437, 447; House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, pp. 3, 4.

²⁹ House Misc. Doc. 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 382.

³⁰ Times, September 23, 1870.

³¹ Opelousas Courier, October 15, 19, 1870.

When the election took place, Republican condidates were elected to state offices, and the party also received a majority in both houses of the Legislature. The Governor had heartily recommended the abrogation of Article 99, which prevented former Confederates from holding office unless they took the "test oath," and the amendment passed unanimously. Through his power under the Election Law, Warmoth even persuaded the overwhelmingly Democratic city of New Orleans to vote the Republican ticket.³²

Various explanations were given by Warmoth, his friends, and his opponents as to the cause of the split in the Republican party. The Governor claimed he never considered Dunn a rival candidate for his office; that Dunn was a scheming and ambitious man, scheming as all politicians were—for the advancement of their party and themselves. The Dunn men were against his own desire to be governor again, and if the amendment had not been passed there would have been no party split.³³

Henry C. Dibble, who was Warmoth's good friend until the summer of 1872, believed that Dunn was honestly opposed to Warmoth and that if Dunn had lived he would have been governor. Dibble thought Packard's opposition began when Warmoth had said he would not sign the Nicolson pavement bill; and Lowell was opposed to the Governor after he vetoed the Ship Island bill.³⁴

Two members of the House Select Committee which investigated affairs between Federal officeholders and Louisiana officers in 1872 reported that the division of the party began in personal ambition and continued until nearly all its prominent members were forced to be classed with one side or the other. Enough evidence was taken, they said, to show fraud in the election of 1870, but not enough to indicate on whom the blame lay.³⁵

H. Boardman Smith of the Committee declared that Warmoth himself admitted that he had appointed more Democrats to office than Republicans, and that before the 1870 convention he had commissioned Democrats in the militia who could not take the

³² Annual Cyclopedia, 1870, p. 457; Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 71. Warmoth's contrivances to get his friends elected were quite well proved in the election at Algiers where he told election officials and the police a certain enemy of his must not be returned to the Legislature. And he interfered directly in the counting of the ballots to keep out his enemy. House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 342, 524, 525, 530, 531, 537-539.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 380.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 278; In this Dibble supports Warmoth's contention concerning the origin of Packard's opposition.

³⁵ House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, pp. 3, 4.

oath required under Article 99. Warmoth had intimated that Dunn was not a candidate for governor but desired to go to the United States Senate. Members of the Legislature had been fraudulently elected in 1870, and Smith said they were all friends of the Governor. And although Warmoth claimed he knew of no frauds, he did know or should have known of them, and the fraudulently elected legislators were retained in the Legislature of 1871 by the Democrats and Warmoth men who had combined at that time and had a majority in the Legislature.³⁶

Warmoth determined after the election to effect a coalition with the Democrats in the Legislature; and they were willing to combine with any group as a compromise to regain their lost prestige. First, however, the Governor announced that he was going to Missouri to see his father. Instead he rushed to Washington to see Grant and to demand that the Customhouse officers be removed for having opposed him at the convention.³⁷ James F. Casey, the President's brother-in-law and one of the Customhouse men who had acted with Warmoth's "auxiliary" committee, supported the Governor's contentions.³⁸ Casey was Collector of Customs at New Orleans, and his powerful support was largely responsible for the Governor's success in carrying his eligibility amendment.³⁹

Dunn allowed no grass to grow under his feet, and he, too, hastened to Washington. Grant had already been influenced by Warmoth to order removal of Lowell, and had nominated another man to take his place. But after the Lieutenant Governor arrived Grant changed his mind and withdrew the nomination. The Senate backed Grant to the fullest and insisted on rejecting the nomination anyway. Lowell therefore remained in office, and this was the last time Grant ever even started to take a step against his Federal appointees in Louisiana while Warmoth was Governor.

When the Legislature convened in January, 1871, Mortimer Carr, the Governor's "mouthpiece," was elected Speaker of the

³⁶ Ibid., p. 34. J. Hale Sypher, a Customhouse member of Congress from Louisiana, unwittingly exposed the aims of his crowd. The Election Law of 1870, he said, was necessary to prevent recurrence of the violence of 1868, and the Customhouse men put their confidence in Warmoth to use the law in their behalf. Instead, this "unscrupulous" despot got his own men sent to the Legislature and the stage was set for the "war of the factions." Congressional Record, 43 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 4695.

³⁷ Times, December 4, 1870.

³⁸ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 327.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 272.

⁴⁰ Times, January 4, March 18, 1871.

House, in which the Warmoth men had a majority. The anti-Warmoth men at first had a majority in the Senate and were led by the presiding officer, Oscar J. Dunn.⁴¹

In his annual message Warmoth appeared to be sincerely interested in obtaining reform legislation. His whole address called for moderation. The late election, he said, indicated the growing determination of the people to stop violence and to give the administration their support in the interest of the state. To prevent a repetition of the disturbances that had accompanied the election of 1868 he had been given ample powers to enforce the laws passed by the Legislature. He had endeavored to use these powers with moderation and impartiality and had even accepted men of all parties into the militia, though some had urged him to make it partisan. In doing so, he had been forced to differ, for a short time, from many of his political frends. Now that the rancor of 1868 was passed, as evidenced in the peaceful election just held, he recommended modification of the Election and Registration laws.⁴²

The press appeared more optimistic than usual about their hopes that the Governor would stop the excesses of the Legislature. The *Times* said:

to correct and arrest the corrupt tendencies. . . . He cannot escape the accountability to which he will be held for the transactions of this body. The facility with which he induces that body to sanction all his own measures, demonstrates his power to coerce them into a like fidelity to the interests and demands of the State. If he is faithful himself he can infuse that quality into his followers.⁴³

The Warmoth party, meanwhile, had struck a bargain with the Democrats to defeat the Dunn-Customhouse faction. By a vote of twenty to fourteen a resolution was passed in the Senate removing Dunn's power as presiding officer to appoint all com-

⁴¹ Annual Cyclopedia, 1871, p. 471. The Cyclopedia erroneously declared that Carr was supposed to sympathize with the Dunn faction. See also, House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 3.

⁴³ See Governor's annual message, *House Journal*, 1871, pp. 22-28. The story went the rounds that while Warmoth was in Washington burglars broke into his residence and carried off his message as part of their loot. He had to write a new one, and it was a week late. *Times*, January 4, 1871.

⁴³ Times, January 4, 13, 1871.

mittees. Instead, the control of committees was given to the majority of the body and was announced as a victory for Warmoth over Packard, Lowell, and Dunn.44

Senator Pinchback declared in debate that he could not understand why the Democrats sustained the Governor when all their newspapers advised against such cooperation. The seven Democrats in the Senate, according to W. J. Blackman, were not in coalition with the Governor; they would vote for good measures put forward by either side:

I tell the gentleman now, and I tell the Governor . . . and his party, that the Democrats have formed a coalition with nobody but their seven little selves who represent their people upon this floor. We are seven still, and we will be seven to the end. . . . We will do what is right for the people of this State. We do not support the faction of H. C. Warmoth, nor do we support the faction of Oscar J. Dunn. . . . 45

On January 10, the "Great Senatorial Sweepstakes" resulted in the election of J. R. West as United States Senator. Senator Pinchback was one of the contestants and declared that he ran against Webb to see how far a colored man could get. Now he had actual proof that the cry raised for equality was the result of whites against blacks (Warmoth vs. Dunn), and the rejection of the usual party caucus to elect the Senator proved that if the Negroes persisted in arraying themselves as a distinct body against the whites, they could well expect a distinct organization of whites against them, regardless of party.46

James F. Casey's friends had informed Governor Warmoth that Casey wanted the Senatorship, and when Warmoth supported West instead, Casey went over to the Customhouse faction.47

Meanwhile Speaker Carr in the House aroused the anger of the members by his propensity to filibustering, and on January 31 George W. Carter was elected to his place. Carter at that time was still friendly to Governor Warmoth.48

⁴⁴ Picayune, January 3, 1871; Annual Cyclopedia, 1871, p. 471; House Reports, 42 Cong.,

⁴⁴ Picayune, January 3, 1871; Annual Cyclopedia, 1871, p. 471; House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Times, January 5, 7, 1871. The Times (January 7, 1871) editor cautioned against too much haste in denouncing the Democrats in the Legislature, for their acting with Warmoth merely meant they approved some of his measures.

⁴⁶ Annual Cyclopedia, 1871, p. 471; Times, January 11, 13, 1871.

⁴⁷ House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 9.

⁴⁸ Times, January 11, 1871; House Journal, 1871, pp. 78, 79. According to Lonn, Carr's rulings were disliked and the Customhouse faction united with the Democrats to force him to resign. Reconstruction in Louisiana, 76. For the statement that Carter was still a Warmoth man, see House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 5.

Early in January, 1871, the Dunn men had proposed a coalition with the Democrats, asking the latter to help them defeat Warmoth and put the Dunn supporters in control. In return the Dunn men would then prevent further legislation designed for mixing of color in the schools and social equality, and would repeal the obnoxious laws. Together they should distribute the offices of the state among themselves in proper proportion and continue the coalition until the next presidential election. About the same time a similar proposition was made by Packard, but both proposals were rejected by the Democrats.⁴⁹

The Warmoth men made propositions to the Democrats which appeared more tangible. The agreement in the Senate was that in return for aid in removing Dunn's power to appoint committees, the Warmoth men would give the Democrats the chairmanship and a majority on several committees.⁵⁰ The Governor knew of this arrangement before it was carried out and admitted that he approved it.

In the House most of the Democrats voted for West, who was known to be Warmoth's candidate before the Legislature met. They were afraid Pinchback would be elected and hated the thought of sending a colored man to the United States Senate.⁵¹

Thus when the Legislature adjourned, the Republican party had been blasted by a combination of ambition, greed, rancor over money bills, and division of the spoils. The Customhouse crew opposed Warmoth for putting his own men in office under the Election Law. The Governor replied that they opposed him because he would not let them make money on corrupt bills. Oscar J. Dunn wanted to be governor, and Henry Clay Warmoth stood in his way. Respecting the Lieutenant Governor's influence with the colored people, Warmoth looked to the Democrats to help him retain control of state affairs. ⁵² But the wily Democrats could butter their bread on both sides—they would get what they could from both Warmoth and the Customhouse.

⁴⁹ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 306-307. This was Governor Warmoth's testimony. He claimed, further, that the Democrats had rejected the Dunn proposals because they did not believe the Customhouse men could carry them out. One of the investigating committee claimed the proposals failed because the Warmoth side had not actually effected a coalition with the Democrats.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 348, 383-384.

⁵¹ House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 3; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 327, 386.

⁵² House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 513. This statement about Warmoth and an alliance with the white people came from Judge Alexander Walker, chief editor of the Times.

CHAPTER V

THE WAR OF THE FACTIONS

On March 8, 1871, Governor Warmoth, while on an excursion, accidentally put his foot in the machinery of a police boat and got it badly crushed. The wound became seriously infected and common talk reported that he might die. Although the rumors were exaggerated, the Governor had suffered a great deal and was advised to leave the city for a rest. On June 24 he left New Orleans to spend a month or two recuperating at Pass Christian, Mississippi, on the Gulf.¹

His enemies went merrily on with their schemes for taking away his powers. Two days after the Governor left, a great mass meeting was held at Mechanics' Institute to welcome the return of Senator William Pitt Kellogg who had identified himself with the Dunn-Lowell-Packard faction. The speakers at this affair denounced Warmoth's administration and lauded Grant. Dunn was present and referred to Kellogg as

-"faithful found

"Among the faithless, faithful only he."2

Declaring his intentions to be an impartial historian of the brewing conflict between Dunn and Warmoth, the *Times* editor promised as exciting a conflict as the capture of Paris by the Versaillists:

It is well known that the Governor is at present hors du combat... He is at Pass Christian, and the enemy at the Mechanics' Hall, with Lieu. Gov. Dunn occupying the Gubernatorial chair.... even the Governor's organ, the Republican, strives to occupy a safe position by placing its chief editor on the Dunn-Casey platform, and publishing... faint remonstrances against... factious proceedings...³

Comical happenings, indeed, arose from the Governor's temporary absence. Every time the Governor left the state, even if for a day or two, the dusky Lieutenant Governor took over his office.

¹ Picayune, March 9, 1871; Republican, June 17, 25, 1871.

³ Times, June 29, 1871; Republican, June 28, 1871. ³ Times, June 30, 1871.

Once when Dunn was out for an hour or two, the Governor's private secretary, O. D. Bragdon, slipped in and carried off the executive's appointment book and all the unsigned bills which the Governor was holding.⁴

Rumors, meanwhile, were flying thick and fast as to what would be the next episode in the fracas, and the *Republican* foolishly insisted there was not a cloud on the clear horizon of the party.⁵

On July 12 a Republican press convention was called in New Orleans to whip the country papers into line on the anti-Warmoth issue. Pinchback and Dibble led the minority for the Governor's side and raised long discussions and debate to interfere with the proceedings. The scene was tense, and during a particularly hot debate a knife gleamed from among the crowd.⁶

Speaker George W. Carter was now with the Customhouse men, and he addressed the convention on affairs of the state. He read the report of the Committee on Resolutions calling for economy in the administration and told the convention that the Governor had too much patronage—more than any ten governors in the country or than any crowned head in the world except the Czar of Russia. The convention should advocate a change in the election and registration laws.

It was said that Dunn intended to remove the Governor's appointees in the city and put in his own freinds. Warmoth may have been forewarned of the Acting Governor's plans, for he suddenly appeared on the scene just at the time scheduled for the event.8

Reporters took delight in describing the very comical scene enacted when Governor Warmoth unexpectedly arrived at the State House at about ten o'clock Wednesday morning, July 18, 1871.

⁴ Ibid., July 1, 1871; Picayune, July 1, 1871.

⁵ Picayune, July 1, 1871; Times, July 2, 1871.

Republican, July 13, 1871; Times, July 13, 1871. Pinchback announced that he was a lone wolf—neither a Carter man nor a Warmoth man. But he urged the party to stick with Warmoth who was of known consistency and proved ability. Republican, July 20, 1871.

⁷ Times, July 14, 1871; Republican, July 15, 1871.

⁸ Picayune, July 19, 1871.

Dunn was dreamily contemplating the time when he should be Governor, when a cab was heard outside and, a few seconds later, the sound of "two timber toes" was audible. In a moment the Governor "flung open the door to his office:"

... Acting Gov. Dunn had evidently no more thought of the appearance of Warmoth than he had of a visit from the Man in the Moon, and ... when the Governor stoog revealed leaning upon his crutches, with an arch smile playing around the corners of his mouth, the countenance of Dunn as he rose from his seat was a study.

Outside, "lobbyist, borers, runners, bummers, party hacks, go-betweens and members of both Houses poured out of the neighboring dwellings, committee rooms and the Union restaurant . . . and made their way to the lobby of the Mechanics' Institute" where they gathered in knots to discuss the Governor's sudden flank movement.

It was rumored that when Warmoth entered his office, according to some wit, he exclaimed to Dunn in the language of Macbeth:

If 'twere done when 'tis done, then 'twere well It were done quickly

Whereupon Acting Gov. Dunn, hearing his name repeated thrice, started up and stood transfixed with astonishment, as the Governor continued, evidently referring to the intended . . . decapitation of his appointee, Mr. Shaw, and slightly changing the text.

Besides, this Shaw

Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been So clear in his great office, that his virtures Will plead, trumpet-tongued against The deep damnation of his taking off.

Thereupon, it is related, Dunn, recovering and bowing deferentially, replied as if convinced:

We will proceed no further in this business. 10

At the end of this brief conversation, the Lieutenant Governor, who had kept edging toward the door, "vanished through

⁹ Ibid.; Times, July 19, 1871.

¹⁰ Picayune, July 20, 1871.

its portals with a sickly grin." Most people who had witnessed the goings on reported that the sable official "fairly turned white under the gills."

The Republican State Convention was called, meanwhile, to elect a new State Central Committee, and a high time was slated when the rancorus elements of the party attempted to come together.

Elections for delegates were held throughout the State, and in almost every parish two sets of contestants were reported. The Dunn-Warmoth feud had grown fierce, each side claiming to have the advantage. Marshal Packard put on the Federal payroll a number of special Customhouse employees, for "conventional purposes" the Governor charged.¹¹

Although the Governor and his friends denied that they had used force in getting their men returned to the convention, abundant evidence indicates that anti-Warmoth ward club meetings in New Orleans were frequently broken up by policemen in citizens' clothes and thugs hired by the Governor. The Warmoth men complained of similar actions on the part of the Customhouse employees.¹²

While the original resolution of the old State Central Committee, headed by Packard, called for the time and the place of the convention, that resourceful official "pulled a fast one" on the Governor and announced only the day of the convention, leaving out the hall and the hour. The Warmoth men were upset over this trick and rushed to Packard for an explanation. He told them the place would be announced later. Two members of the party Executive Committee had already told the Governor that the original resolution read thus:

Resolved, That a convention of the Republican party be, and is hereby called, to meet IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE MECHANIC'S INSTITUTE, in New Orleans, on the ninth of August, 1871.¹⁴

¹¹ Times, July 27, 1871; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 356.

¹² See conflicting testimony in House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 166-167, 176-181, 269, 403-415. E. J. Ellis wrote to his brother, "Things are getting pretty lively [among the Republicans]. . . At the 10th Ward Club meeting Warmoth sent 50 policemen and some thugs and knocked down some Negroes. . ." Ellis (E. John, Thomas C. W., and Family) Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge), May 30, 1871.

¹³ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 296.

¹⁴ Republican, August 1, 1871. The words in capitals were omitted in Packard's announcement.

On the night of August 3, the Committee met, ostensibly to name the meeting place of the convention, and adopted resolutions instructing Packard to obtain a suitable place (not Mechanics' Institute) and notify the official organ on Tuesday morning, August 8. To be certain that the Warmoth men gained no advantage, the committee appointed itself a committee on credentials of the delegates and ruled that no one would be admitted without a special ticket issued by Packard, the chairman of the Central Committee.¹⁵

Finally, on August 8, the chairman announced the meeting place and the hour in the following publication:

BY VIRTUE OF THE AUTHORITY vested in me by a resolution of the Republican State Central Executive Committee, adopted August 3d, I hereby give notice that the State Convention of the Republican party, called by the State Committee on June 27th, will convene in the United States Court-Room on WEDNESDAY, the 9th inst at 12m.

S B PACKARD President State Central Ex. Committee. 16

This was a blow to Warmoth; for it was generally admitted that the purpose in holding the convention in the courtroom at the Customhouse was to prevent him from controlling it.¹⁷ A caucus of his leaders met at noon Tuesday and drew up plans to combat the step taken by Packard. They had already agreed that if the convention was held in a place where Warmoth would not have a fair showing, Dibble should rise at the meeting and read a protest signed by ninety-five Warmoth delegates and call the convention to order. Again that evening the caucus met and sent a committee to obtain tickets from Packard for their ninety-five supporters. But he told them none would be issued until "8, 9, 10, or 12 o'clock" the next day and that the whole course of the Customhouse officials "had not been resolved upon without the fullest advice and sanction of the highest authority." 18

About a week before the convention Warmoth's side suspected their enemies would attempt to call the meeting in the Customhouse and had sent a real estate agent to rent all available halls in the city, to be offered to Packard, they claimed, so that he

¹⁶ Ibid., August 5, 6, 1871.

¹⁶ Picayune, August 8, 1871.

¹⁷ Annual Cyclopedia, 1871, p. 472.

¹⁸ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 269-271.

could not say he was unable to find a hall. But the Marshal asserted they were trying to prevent his calling the convention in any place other than Mechanics' Institute, where it was presumed that the Governor's Metropolitans would put him in control. Evidence was conflicting as to whether or not these other places were offered to Packard. The obvious point, however, was that both sides were trying their best to get the convention held in a place suitable to themselves.¹⁹

Warmoth admitted having said earlier in the year that the split in the party would result in two conventions.²⁰ And the Packard side claimed it would have been unsafe, under the circumstances, to have held the convention in Mechanics' Institute, as had been customary in the past.²¹ It was clearly a matter of who had the upper hand; in one hall Warmoth would have ruled, and in the other, Packard.

Under the pretext that the Customhouse property should be protected from thugs and brusiers, Packard obtained United States troops to guard the building when the convention met. On August 8 he wired General Joseph J. Reynolds, commander of the United States Army at San Antonio, that the Republican Convention was to be held the next day and he wanted men to protect Federal property from any possible attack. Carefully omitting the important fact that the convention was to meet in the Customhouse, Packard got the troops without any trouble.²²

Early the next morning throngs of whites and blacks began to congregate about the Customhouse. Tenseness and a look of strained fear passed through the crowd. Marshal Packard was in his office handing out badges marked "Special Deputy Marshal" to a dozen of his friends, and around nine o'clock three companies of United States Infantry marched into the scene. They stacked their arms in the Customhouse and rolled two Gatling guns into the basement to be used if needed.²³

Packard's men soon locked and barred all the doors to the building, and special deputies stood guard at every entrance. No

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 174, 272, 279-280, 429-430, 508, 509. The Packard side, too, sent out a real-estate man, but Warmoth beat him in the game.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 388. ²¹ Ibid., pp. 202-212.

²² House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, pp. 9-12.

²³ Picayune, August 10, 1871; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 100-101.

one was allowed to enter without one of the tickets of admission handed out by the marshal. Even the usual commercial business carried on at the Customhouse was suspended.²⁴

At about eleven o'clock Warmoth drove up in a carriage with Hugh J. Campbell and P. B. S. Pinchback, and ninety or ninety-five delegates accompanied them into the building. As they pushed through the mob, a man shouted "The Governor is crippled!" And his friends pressed closely around him to keep him from being knocked down in the crowd. They proceeded through the main entrance, one by one, the Governor claimed later. At the head of the main stairs they met Captain Jacob H. Smith and his one hundred troops, in addition to a number of Packard's deputies.²⁵

The Governor and his men went on down the hall to the door of the large courtroom where the convention was to meet and asked permission to enter. The deputies on guard told them that Packard had ordered that no one could enter until the convention convened. Seeing that the Governor was still on crutches, one of them said he could go in alone, but Warmoth replied that he did not care to do so.

[The Governor later said:] While standing near the door of the circuit court-room, it was opened, and I saw a number of gentlemen listening to an address of some kind by Mr. George W. Carter. I saw at once that it was a caucus of the members of the convention who were acting with the custom-house authorities and with Marshal Packard. Besides, I was informed on the steps that such was the case.

I saw the doors communicating the United States district court-room with the circuit court-room open, and that persons could pass from one to the other without . . . [hindrance]. I saw very clearly that the game which Marshal Packard and his people intended to play, was to pass from the circuit court-room to the district court-room before twelve o'clock, and that at the moment we were admitted a temporary chairman would be appointed by his delegates, and before we could get in and participate in the preliminary organization, a committee on credentials would then have been appointed and we would have been by this scheme excluded.²⁶

²⁴ Annual Cyclopedia, 1871, p. 472.

House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 100-101, 299-300.
 Ibid., pp 299-300.

Seeing that his side would be unable to effect the plan for Judge Dibble to take control of the convention, Governor Warmoth then returned to the head of the stairs. Calling for a chair, he climed on it and, still leaning on his crutches, addressed his delegates in the following way:

Fellow-Republicans: We have submitted to the dictation of the State central committee thus far. We have consented to meet in convention in the United States customhouse, although that building is without the jurisdiction of the State of Louisiana. We have consented to come here, notwithstanding the fact that the hall was surrounded by an army of the United States deputy marshals. We have consented to take such tickets as they are willing to give us; but we have come here to-day, the legally constituted delegates of the republicans of the State, to represent their wishes and to express their will. We are refused admittance to the hall of the convention, and these deputy marshals, backed up by the companies of United States troops, seem determined we shall not have a fair expression of our opinions, and that the republicans here assembled shall have not [sic] part or lot in the public deliberations of this convention.27

At this point in his remarks, the Governor was interrupted by Captain Smith, who told him quite respectfully that he must not speak thus of the troops, which were there merely to protect the property. Warmoth replied that he understood the matter and then closed his speech saying:

We bow in respectful obedience to the mandates of the military power, and having been refused admittance to the hall . . . , and as it is now evident to all that we are not allowed to assemble to deliberate in this building without military intervention and surveillance, I move to the delegates here assembled that we do now adjourn to the Turners' Hall, at the corner of Dryades and Lafayette streets . . . and proceed with the business for which we have been called together. . . .

Amid the "wild huzzas" of his own supporters and a "few hisses" from his opponents, the Governor returned to his carriage. The cry "To Turners' Hall!" was raised and the crowd moved up Canal Street. When they had gone a little way, some of the men unharnessed the horses and pulled the carriage themselves, "shouting the while like mad" as they proceeded.²⁸

²⁷ This version of the Governor's speech was taken from the report of the Turner's Hall delegates in an address to the people of Louisiana, August 10, 1871. See *ibid.*, p. 305.

²⁸ Picayune, August 10, 1871.

Senator A. B. Harris, a member of the State Central Committee who had sided with Warmoth, opened the Turners' Hall Convention in the midst of confusion. The crowd was possessed of some fanatic zeal and sang parodies on "John Brown's Body" and other tunes. After a while they hung out the United States flag and gave it three cheers.29

Warmoth suspected that Packard's reference to the "highest authority" meant that Grant had approved the Customhouse schemes. In his first address before his own convention he was careful to say that all sincere Republicans in Louisiana supported the President. He spoke against apparent attempts to form a black party and a white party and declared the introduction of the question as to who should be governor in 1872 was intended to break up the unity of the Republicans.30

The Turners' Hall convention elected Pinchback president and adopted a resolution requesting Senator West to call upon President Grant to investigate the use of the Customhouse for a convention. 31 Other resolutions endorsed both Grant and Warmoth and stated that the Convention believed Grant unaware of the events taking place. They wanted him to remove the Customhouse officials responsible for these activities.32

The Customhouse Convention, or Gatling Gun Convention, as it was called, organized with Oscar J. Dunn as president. George W. Carter made the strongest speech of that convention, attacking Warmoth for all his sins. The Governor had been given extraordinary powers, he said, and had given little in return. He did not say that Warmoth was bribed or that he stole money, but he insinuated that in the past three years the Governor had made a million dollars. In his opinion, Henry Clay Warmoth could not be trusted by his party; he was a "living, practical lie," guilty of sins both of omission and commission.33

When he read in the papers the reports of the speeches of Carter and other factionists at the Customhouse, Governor Warmoth, on the second day at Turners' Hall, retaliated in kind with

²⁰ Annual Cyclopedia, 1871, p. 472.

30 Republican, August 10, 1871.

31 Times, August 10, 1871.

32 Republican, August 11, 1871. At Turners' Hall Pinchback proclaimed his support for Warmoth as long as the Governor was for Grant: ". . in no speech, in no paper can be found one word of his [Warmoth's] against General Grant . . . [but] if what has been in this Customhouse has been done . . [with the President's approval] I shall go out of this convention his deadly opponent. [Great applause.]" Although Grant gave silent consent to the Packard faction, Pinchback later stuck to the President for his own advancement. Proceedings in Turner Hall (New Orleans, 1871), 7.

33 Times, August 10, 1871. The Annual Cyclopedia, 1871, p. 472, states that Carter called Warmoth "the greatest living practical liar."

a long speech remarkable for its ferocity and oratorical extravagance. His series of "pen portraits" of his leading opponents was published everywhere and provided conversation and debate about the amazing Governor of Louisiana.

Of Carter the Governor said:

This Gentleman arraigns me. He says I have done some big things in this State—that I have made a big fortune; that I have created . . . a big debt [and some other charges]. . . . How did this apostate angel get his information? [Laughter.] Does he suppose because in one short session of the legislature he was capable of making enough money to buy a valuable residence . . . and to spend in one night seventeen hundred dollars in a gambling house, that, therefore, . . . it follows that I must have made a considerable fortune in the three years I have been governor? . . .

Mr Carter says I have created a big debt.... [Concerning the money bills last session.] Every one of them had George W. Carter's vote or support. [Applause.] And he got his quid pro quo for his services in every single case. [Applause.]³⁴

The Governor's attack on James F. Casey was particularly enjoyable to his audience:

My friend Jim Casey is a clever fellow. He hasn't sense enough to be a bad fellow. [Laughter.] A man to be a bad fellow must have some character—he hasn't any. [Much laughter.] That little native of Jerusaleum, Felix Herwig, [Laughter.] leads him round by the nose and takes him up stairs and down stairs, . . . and Casey doesn't know while Herwig is doing all this that he is filling the customhouse with his relations. . . . Herwig sometimes says, "Upon my soul, I do believe Warmoth is in favor of Grant. . . . I believe there is a good deal said that is wrong against him, but, by G—d, he will not let Casey and me make any money. . . . Just think of it! Doesn't this prove that I am unsound on the negro question? Would you not hesitate after this before sending me to the next national convention, knowing . . . that I should vote against Grant? [Applause and laughter.]

The Times editor observed that few cared what Warmoth said about Carter, but when he went beyond his "legitimate prey" and attacked the Southern Methodist Church he showed his own

³⁴ See the "pen portraits" as reproduced in Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 41, part I, pp. 361-362. The Picayune, August 10, 1871, included the following part of Warmoth's speech: [Carter was "once a saint but is now a blackguard."] "Did he learn [of my supposed corruption] . . . by that process of reasoning which . . [accounted] for his gains . . . [and enabled him] to scatter fortunes upon lewd and abandoned women . . ?!" It was not surprising, said Warmoth, that such a man would "at last emerge . . . a liar, a drunkard and a gambler."

"cloven foot." Carter had at one time been a Methodist preacher in Texas, and later he was to boast that he "had been elected to the Legislature as a Republican on his Confederate record."³⁵

A few days after Warmoth's Turners' Hall speech Carter replied in the *Times*. He denied that he led the Customhouse faction and declared the Governor's speech a "specimen of scurrilous vituperation," which, though possessed of "bold effrontery" and "vulgar innuendo" was without truth. The speaker further said:

He is, as a Republican, a practical *Lie*; as a politician, a fraud, and would use any party to which he might be attached for his own personal aggrandizement; and whenever he deemed it conducive to his own interest, he would, without scruple, betray the same. A constitutional adventurer and a chronic equivocator, treacherous in every relation, personal and political, he had proven himself a leader who can be neither safely trusted nor followed by any party.³⁶

Soon after the convention Oscar J. Dunn wrote a long letter to Horace Greeley, publisher of the New York Tribune, in which he claimed that nineteen-twentieths of the Republican party in Louisiana were opposed to Governor Warmoth:

Would you be greatly surprised, Mr. Greeley, to be informed that, in the judgment of the good people of this State, irrespective of party, the young man who now occupies the executive chair of Louisiana . . . whose championship you so boldly assume, is pre-eminently the prototype and prince of the tribe of carpet-baggers who seem to be your pet aversion.

In all candor, we believe that his excellency Governor H. C. Warmoth is officially derelict and politically untrustworthy. He has shown an itching desire, as manifested by repeated negotiations with certain leaders thereof, to secure the personal support of the democracy at the expense of his own party, . . . and he is much more concerned to have the entree into good southern society than he is to do the arduous but honorable work of elevating the masses of that race who elected him. . . .

³⁵ Times, August 13, 1871; Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 110. ³⁶ Times, August 15, 1871.

We cannot and will not support him, even though the New York Tribune should remain his champion, for such support would inevitably involve the disastrous defeat of the Republican party . . . of Louisiana.³⁷

Lieutenant Governor Dunn's antipathy to Warmoth was not rooted in the race question. The Negro distrusted the Governor because the latter had not supported the Social Equality Law. Dunn was anxious to bring about complete equality of the races. He could not see the wisdom of Warmoth's contention that any attempt to force equal treatment on the whites would only result in stronger and fiercer antagonisms which would threaten all the rights that the Negro then enjoyed.

That the causes of the Republican split were complex and that both factions were at fault was indicated in the reports returned to the House of Representatives by the Select Committee of its members which investigated issues between Louisiana state and Federal officeholders. Five men were on the committee, three Republicans and two Democrats, and three separate reports were made on the testimony taken by the committee.

H. Boardman Smith (Rep.) declared that while the Custom-house was under the Packard men, so was Mechanics' Institute under Warmoth's control; and both were the people's buildings. The presence of United States troops was necessary, he said to prevent bloodshed.³⁸

R. Milton Speer and Stevenson Archer (Democrats) believed the factions in the convention were not based on principles. Warmoth was not really in favor of Grant, they believed, and Packard, holding a lucrative appointment from him, was anxious to sustain the President. Each faction required armed protection from the

Gun Convention charged that nearly every "bolter" who went to Turner's Hall was an officeholder under Warmoth; only thirty-one had credentials filed in the form required by their Executive Committee. There was some excuse for their charge of despotism: "We look on Gov. Warmouth as exceedingly arbitrary and dictatorial; who or what he can not control, he tries to break down or destroy. He has no tolerance for other men's opinions when they differ from his, and he looks on the Republican party of this State as his property, and will brook no interference in its management. This we do not concede to him or any other man or set of men." Report of the Committee on Address of the Republican party . . . and the address of the State Central Executive Committee, Elected by the State Convention (the Customhouse Convention), (New Orleans, 1871), 10, 12.

³⁸ House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 36.

other, under solely political purposes, and their actions were a disgrace to liberty and republican government and to the United States Government.39

The other two Republicans, Glenni W. Scofield and George W. McCrary, believed the Dunn faction had the majority but that Warmoth would have controlled the convention at the State House. Being Grant men themselves, they defended Packard's actions.40

The Turners' Hall convention sent a delegation to Long Branch, New Jersey, in September, 1871, to request that President Grant remove the Federal officers who had participated in the Customhouse convention. According to some accounts Grant was angry and stamped his feet and banged on the piano during the interview. But the Republican was probably correct in its report that the President merely appeared restless and at one time accidently touched the keys while leaning on the piano.41 Grant denied that Packard's statement about having acted on the "highest authority" referred to him, but promised to investigate affairs in Louisiana.42

In the midst of many threats to Governor Warmoth's security in his office, Lieutenant Governor Dunn suddenly died on November 22, 1871. Physicians declared he died of brain congestion, and Warmoth, Lowell, Packard, Casey, Kellogg, and Flanders were among the pallbearers. The funeral procession was said to be the longest ever to have taken place in New Orleans. 43

Rumors spread that Dunn had been poisoned by his enemies, and the sudden illness of George W. Carter on the day of Dunn's death gave credence to the reports. But friends of the faction evidently were certain that Dunn had died of natural causes, because no investigation was ever made.44

With his archenemy removed from the political arena, Warmoth now began to look around for some means of insuring the election of a lieutenant governor who would cooperate with the administration. The idea struck him to call the Senate into extra

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 9-12. Packard denied that he wanted control of the convention to show Grant he held the whip-cord in the State party. He refuted, too, the charge that since Warmoth was supposed to oppose Grant his actions were only intended to secure the State to the President. Had not Warmoth publicly said he was not opposed to Grant? Packard insisted that he desired to take the convention from Warmoth because the Governor already had such extraordinary powers under the laws that he should not control the organization of the party besides. House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 138.

10 House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, pp. 4-5.

11 Republican, September 12, 1871.

¹² Times, September 7, 1871. ³ Ibid., November 23, 1871; Republican, November 23, 1871. ¹⁴ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 452.

session for the election of a president who would also be the second official of the state. And on November 24 he issued a proclamation calling that body alone to meet on December 6. To hide his anxiety Warmoth included a few other matters in the business to be transacted, and immediately the question arose as to the legality of calling only one house. The Times asserted the Governor exceeded his constitutional authority; but the Picayune insisted that the Senate was a permanent body for giving advice to the Executive.45

Seeing the need for a prearranged plan, the Democratic Central Committee met with members of the Customhouse committee in November and planned a program of action. So far as the Democrats were concerned their only desire was to effect reform in the laws of the State; the coalition had nothing to do with the political quarrels between the anti-Warmoth men and the Customhouse.46

The possible impeachment of Governor Warmoth was discussed at the meetings but was not a definite part of the plan. It depended entirely on how the Governor reacted toward reform legislation in the January session of 1872. Nor did the agreement mean that Grant's administration and the Democrats were in sympathy with each other.47

The Carter faction agreed to give the Democrats a majority on seven committees of the Senate and the chairmanship of six. In return the Democrats agreed to vote for the reduction in the Governor's powers which the Customhouse sought. The Customhouse agreed to help curtail financial and political bills looking toward reform, while the Democrats agreed further to support T. V. Coupland, a Customhouse deputy, for president of the Senate.48

The Governor admitted that he called the Senate to elect a lieutenant governor friendly to himself, who would unite with him in repealing the printing contracts made by Dunn and Carter. The greater comprised the lesser, he said, and if he could call the whole assembly then he could call the part. Most members of the bar disagreed with his interpretation, but he merely replied that he was not familiar with the opinion of the bar.49

⁴⁵ For the proclamation, see Senate Journal, 1871, Extra Session, 3; Times, November 26, 1871; Picayune, November 26, 1871.

46 House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 50, 55. ⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 60, 260, 531. ⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 324, 351.

Article 64 of the Constitution read as follows on the Governor's power to call an extra session:

He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the General Assembly at the seat of government, or at a different place if that should have become dangerous from an enemy or from epidemic; and in case of disagreement between the two Houses as to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he may think proper, not exceeding four months.50

The clear intention of the Constitutional Convention was that the Governor could not call one house without the other. Act Nineteen of the 1870 session interpreted the Constitution to mean that only the whole body could be called; for it said that the length of the session could not be extended except by "joint resolution of both houses."51

Despite protests the Senate met on December 6, and the first test vote on the strength of the two factions came in the election of a temporary president. P. B. S. Pinchback, the Governor's candidate, won the election, and on the choice of a permanent president he was chosen by a vote of 18 to 16 over T. V. Coupland. But the whole thing was accomplished by the purchase of a Senator's vote. Senator Lewis had voted with the Carter men on the election of a temporary president, and before the next ballot he was seen in the Governor's office talking to M. A. Southworth, the Governor's special friend. Warmoth was present, and while he took no direct part in the transaction, he knew that Southworth and Lewis signed an agreement whereby the latter would change his vote to Pinchback and vote thereafter to sustain him. By this change the anticipated tie of seventeen to seventeen in the election would be broken.52

When Warner Van Norden, who acted with Southworth in the deal, was jailed three times for contempt of Court, Governor Warmoth issued a pardon in each instance freeing him from the sentence. Van Norden and Southworth had secretly removed from a deposit box \$15,000 in bribe money and \$20,000 in bonds which should have been paid to Lewis for supporting the Warmoth faction.53

51 Laws of Louisiana, 1870, Act 19.
52 Republican, December 7, 10, 1871; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 38, 113, 354, 551-552.
53 Picayune, March 6, 1872; Times, March 6, 7, 8, 9, 1872; House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, pp. 14-15; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 548.

⁵⁰ Journal of the Constitutional Convention, 1867-1868, 299.

Just as soon as Pinchback was elected, the Governor and the new Lieutenant Governor proceeded to revoke and annul all the printing contracts, forty-five in number, which had been made by Carter and Dunn. Carter, the third member of the Printing Commission, refused to act with them, saying he did not recognize Pinchback's election as having been legal. Instead, Warmoth and Pinchback gave the contracts to papers friendly to themselves, and the Governor admitted his belief that to the victors belonged the spoils.⁵⁴

The alleged plan of the Customhouse-Democratic coalition in the December session was to defeat Pinchback if possible and later to unseat him should the scheme fail. Warmoth was to be impeached in January, 1872, and automatically suspended from office until his trial. But the coalition, having a majority in the Senate, would refuse to bring up the case and thus Warmoth would remain suspended until the end of his term. Meanwhile, if they failed to elect a lieutenant governor on their side in 1872, Pinchback's election would be declared null and void, and Speaker Carter, as the next highest officer, would become Governor.⁵⁵

Although the Democrats claimed they had not included impeachment as part of their agreement, Warmoth believed it, and the opposing faction thought he intended to use the Metropolitan Police to force Carter from the House on the ground that his election was illegal. The Governor himself admitted that he actually created the Parish of Cameron and got Carter elected as a representative from there, although Carter was a non-resident. As long as the Governor and the Speaker did not interfere with each other's schemes, they were the best of friends. But when Carter saw he could better his own position by acting with the Democrats, and when the Governor saw the threat of Carter's ability and determination, their friendship came to a swift halt.

The Legislature met on January 1, and tumultuous proceedings followed rapidly. There were approximately twenty-eight Democrats in the House and six or seven Democrats in the Senate. During the early days of the session the Senate was without a quorum, but the House attempted to carry on its business. On the first day, January 1, the latter body adjourned out of respect for

⁵⁴ Times, December 9, 1871; Republican, December 9, 1871; Picayune, December 9, 1871; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 19.

⁵⁵ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 428, 429.

⁵⁶ Republican, December 27, 29, 1871; Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 131.

the late Lieutenant Governor, and the action was the first test vote between the factions. Since Dunn had been with the Carter-Customhouse wing, this was a victory for the Carter side.57

The next day another test vote again resulted in a victory for Carter. By a vote of forty-nine to forty-five the House passed a resolution of confidence in the Speaker, and the Carter men were in the ascendant. On January 3, however, the third test vote resulted in a score for the Warmoth side. The House voted to postpone the reading and approval of the journal of the previous day. If the reading had been made it would have meant acceptance of the resolution of confidence in Carter. 58,

The House was in an uproar throughout the third day's session, and Carter ordered the lobby to be cleared of Metropolitan Police who had been stationed there in large numbers. A member of the House tried to move that the speaker's chair be declared vacant, but Carter ruled that his motion was out of order and recognized a Customhouse member. During the unprecedented confusion, with members shouting from all sides, Mortimer Carr moved that the chair be declared vacant, and thirty or forty Representatives rushed toward the Speaker's platform. At the same time eight or ten "rather cool and determined looking individuals" poured from the Speaker's private office to protect Carter, whose firm insistence that the attempt was revolutionary prevented his being forcibly taken from the chair.59

At the time the House was to convene on Thursday, January 4, there was a large body of police stationed in two long files before the State House through which members of the Legislature had to pass. 60 The Carter men had lost the round the previous day on the vote to postpone the reading of the journal, and resolved to make a counterattack on Thursday. A few minutes before twelve o'clock noon, when the session began, United States Deputy Marshal T. J. DeKlyne arrived at Mechanics' Institute with warrants issued by the United States Commissioner F. A. Woolfley for the arrest of eighteen members of the House, four Senators, the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor. They were charged with conspiring against the laws of the United States. When the Governor and the others so charged left the State House to give

⁵⁷ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 51.

⁵⁵ Times, January 4, 1872; Republican, January 4, 1872; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., ess., no. 211, pp. 49, 51, 60, 101, 212-213, 309; Warmoth, War, Politics and Recon-2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 49, 51, 60, 101, 212-213, 309; Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 128.

**O House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 101. The Metropolitan police around the State House on January 4 and 5 were under the Governor's orders. Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 472.

bond at the Commissioner's office in the Customhouse, Carr and other Warmoth men left the House chamber to prevent a quorum and possible damage to the Warmoth cause. 61

The evident intention of the Customhouse men was to remove some of Warmoth's supporters from the State House when the Legislature convened and thereby effect their own control. While the arrested members were engaged in the Commissioner's office, the Carter men had a majority of those left in the House and proceeded to unseat seven Warmoth men and to replace six of them with Customhouse adherents. 62 The legality of this action depended upon whether there was a quorum at the noon session. The Customhouse faction claimed there was, while Warmoth insisted there was no quorum.63

The Governor's next coup d'état was to call for an extra session of the Legislature the same afternoon. His proclamation declared:

WHERAS, A conspiracy has developed itself to overthrow the government by illegal and revolutionary means, which were shown by the arrest of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and a member of the House of Representatives, at the moment of assembly, by the United States marshals, on a writ of a United States Commissioner, upon a false and frivolous charge; and

Whereas, While these said officers and members of the General Assembly were detained in arrest, an illegal and revolutionary attempt was made to eject certain members of the House of Representatives and seat other persons in their stead, there being at no time during these proceedings a quorum present, and deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the constitution and the laws enacted thereunder, convene the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana in extra session, at 4:30 P.M., this forth day of January, 1872, to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve the peace and protect the interests of the commonwealth.64

Warmoth issued his proclamation at 1:30 p.m., and during the interim before the House met at 4:30 all the Governor's supporters were secretly notified to meet in the hall of the House.

64 Senate Journal, 1872, p. 4.

⁶¹ Times, January 5, 1872; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 309, 463, 464, 516.

62 House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 113-114.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 309; Times, January 5, 1872. Evidence leaves the dispute as to the quorum inconclusive.

At about 4:15 they crossed the street from a nearby club in a body and entered Mechanics' Institute. Five Democrats who refused to join the Democratic-Customhouse coalition accompanied them.⁶⁵

With a bare quorum present, the House proceeded to expunge the minutes of the noon session, declared the Speaker's chair vacant and elected O. H. Brewster as its presiding officer. The extra session was voted unanimously as justified by the extraordinary conditions, and the session of the Senate on December 6 resulting in Pinchback's election was declared legal. For his conduct of the day before the House unseated Carter by a vote of forty-nine to forty-five, and unanimously voted their confidence in the Governor, calling on him to take the necessary steps to protect the members of the Assembly from intimidation. The members then adjourned until 10:00 a.m. the following day, January 5.

The next morning Carter attempted to enter the State House but the building was guarded by four or five hundred Metropolitan Police who refused him admittance. He then sent a notice to the Governor protesting against the attempt of January 3 to seize the Speaker's chair and the calling of the extra session on January 4 which violated the laws and the Constitution. Therefore, Carter said, he and the majority which had adjourned to meet at noon on January 5 officially notified the Governor that they would meet elsewhere and would inform him of their action in the premises.⁶⁷

Thereafter Carter and his men met in a room over the Gem Saloon on Royal Street, calling themselves the legal House of Representatives. The Warmoth house continued to meet in Mechanics' Institute. Using as an excuse the resolution calling on him to protect the Assembly, Warmoth stationed a large force of Metropolitan Police and State Militia around the building. Carter appointed hundreds of sergeants-at-arms to bring the Warmoth legislators to the Gem assembly, and his meeting place was guarded by these special deputies and a large mass of citizens who supported the Carter legislature. On January 10 Governor Warmoth sent his police and militia over on Royal Street to take forcible possession of the Gem Saloon, and the Gem House took refuge in a room on Canal Street where they continued to meet until January 24.68

es Times, January 5, 1872; House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 8, 11, 25, 53, 215, 355.

Times, January 5, 1872; House Journal, 1872, pp. 11-13.
 House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 25-26.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 312.

Meanwhile the quorum in the Senate had been prevented since January 1 by the embarkation on the United States revenue cutter, the Wilderness, of Customhouse Republicans and the Democrats who sided with that faction. To escape arrest by sergeants-at-arms of Warmoth's assembly these men had for many days sailed about the Mississippi River and had eventually crossed into Mississippi to the town of Bay Saint Louis where they put up at a hotel. They sought to avoid a quorum until they could get together enough Senators to obtain a majority against the Warmoth faction.

Under the protection of the police and militia, the Governor's faction spent several days and nights guarding the building against inroads by Carter's supporters. Both Carter and Warmoth called on General W. H. Emory, commander of Federal troops in Louisiana, for protection. During these troubles, however, General Emory's position was that of complete impartiality. In the hottest part of the conflict he brought up his troops from the barracks below the city and stationed them at strategic points where rioting and violence appeared likely among the partisans. 60 Although Emory received numerous requests for aid from both factions, Warmoth was the representative of authority in the state and his official position gave him more of the semblance of protection from the Federal troops.⁷⁰

To protect the Federal Government from accusations of direct interference in state politics the United States Attorney General, on January 5, had ordered all writs issued in United States courts to be withdrawn. Thus the Warmoth men were freed from having to answer the charges of conspiracy before Commissioner Woolfley.71

By the middle of January negotiations had begun between the two factions for the return of the Carter members to Mechanics' Institute. 72 When the news leaked out that Casey had allowed members of the State Legislature to take refuge on a Government boat, the Secretary of the Treasury ordered him to land the vessel in New Orleans, and on January 20 the Senators returned to the State House.73

⁶⁹ See General Emory's testimony to the Congressional Committee, House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 61-93; also correspondence between Emory and the War Department, House Exec. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 209, pp. 1-21.

⁷⁰ House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 20.

⁷¹ New York Daily Tribune, January 8, 1872.

⁷² Times, January 14, 1872; Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 472.

⁷³ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 99; Senate Journal, 1872, p. 23. With a quorum present the Senate voted to recognize the December session and the election of Pinchback. Senate Journal, 1872, p. 24.

The ousted Speaker overplayed his hand when he issued handbills encouraging violence among the colored people of the city:

TO ARMS! TO ARMS!!! TO ARMS!!!
COLORED MEN, TO THE FRONT!

Rally, on SATURDAY, AT 10 o'clock, at the corner of Rampart and Canal streets, and let those who have dared to trample on your rights as freemen and citizens tremble until the very marrow of their bones shakes. Let the cry be,

DOWN WITH WARMOTH AND HIS THIEVING CREW.

RALLY! RALLY!!! RALLY!!! LIBERTY OR DEATH⁷⁴

Carter then published a threatening message to the people in which he called them to meet the following Monday, January 22, and march on the State House to remove the Metropolitan Police and militia stationed there by the Governor. He would commission an overwhelming number of sergeants-at-arms so that the attack could be made without blooshed.⁷⁵

But General Emory had received instructions from Washington to prevent all conflicts, and he informed Carter of the fact, saying he would be held responsible for destruction of property or rioting. When the excited throng of three or four thousand men gathered around the Clay Statue on Canal Street, Carter told them he would not interfere with the Federal troops, and the crowd disbanded.⁷⁶

Gradually the members of the Gem Saloon legislature began to return to the State House, and finally, on the advice of the Wilderness Senators, nearly all of them returned to the Warmoth house. Thus Henry Clay Warmoth experiences his last victory as a member of the old Republican party of Louisiana. Thereafter he identified himself with a "reform" party designed to defeat the re-election of U. S. Grant for President of the United States and to prevent any further control of State politics by the Customhouse clique.

⁷⁴ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, pp. 318-319.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 317-318; Times, January 21, 1872; Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 472.

⁷⁶ Picayune, January 23, 1872.

⁷⁷ House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 12; Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, 125. One source declares that on January 25 most of the Carter members returned to the State House in a body and were allowed to take their seats. The action expelling Carter was then confirmed. Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 473.

CHAPTER VI

THE FALL OF HENRY CLAY WARMOTH

When Governor Warmoth used the obnoxious laws for the benefit of the whole Republican party, Packard, Lowell, and Carter praised the laws. But when the Governor began to use them against Democrats and Republicans alike, the Customhouse crowd shouted for modification. Packard, speaking for his faction, declared that they had favored the laws after the violence in 1868 as a political measure.2

In his message on reform, in January, 1872, Warmoth declared that the Election and Registration laws had been necessary to prevent bloodshed in the 1870 election. Now, however, he recommended changes in or repeal of the laws and appeared earnest in his desire for reform.3

On February 5, he sent another warning to the Legislature against delay in modifying the laws as the people had demanded. Their suspicions had been aroused and he wanted to set at rest any doubt in their minds about his position on the matter of reform:

... So fully have committals been made on this subject that a failure to christalize them into law would be universally, and I will candidly add, justly regarded as unmitigated treachery and contempt for public opinion.4

Although the Senate had on January 15 voted for repeal of the obnoxious laws already concurred in by the House, the legality of the action was questioned. At the time a quorum was considered to be eighteen members in the Senate, but later opinions held that nineteen were necessary.5 After January 24 both houses of the Legislature had a full quorum, but took little action toward reforming the obnoxious laws. Then on February 5, Governor Warmoth had demanded legislation to relieve public opinion as to the administration's desire for reform. Although he asserted very strongly his wishes in the matter, newspapers charged that his men in the Legislature refused to make enough changes in the laws to effect real reforms.6

¹ House Reports, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 92, p. 3. ² House Misc. Doc., 42 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 141. ³ Senate Journal, 1872, pp. 15-16.

⁵ House Misc. Doc., 42 Gong., 2 Sess., no. 211, p. 359; Senate Journal, 1872, p. 21.
⁶ Picayune, February 15, 17, March 7, 1872; Times, February 7, 15, 1872.

The Governor claimed in an interview that he was sincere in favoring reforms. He denied charges that he merely pretended to support reform and said he could not be held responsible for what the Legislature failed to do. Furthermore, he would not be a candidate for re-election unless it was on a reform ticket.

During the summer of 1872 Louisiana's politics presented a scene of party chaos. As early as December 1, 1871, the Reform Party was set in motion when a citizens' Committee of Fifty-one was appointed at a mass meeting to get reforms in the government of New Orleans. The following February, the Committee reported that the administration of the city government was so entangled with the state government as to necessitate a statewide program of political housecleaning. Therefore the Committee recommended the holding of a state convention of all the friends of reform, regardless of color. Thus the Reform Party began, and a state convention was scheduled for June 4 in New Orleans. In the call, the Committee of Fifty-one declared that "the treachery, duplicity, and tyranny" of Warmoth had been established beyond controversy and were "patent facts before a civilized world." 8

In March, Warmoth, Pinchback, Packard, Kellogg, Casey, Carter, with their respective supporters were all in Washington, each faction conferring with President Grant as to possible reconciliation in the Republican party before the presidential election. Reports of the meeting indicated that the Governor proposed the appointment of representatives from each side, with Packard as chairman of the group, to reconcile their differences. But the Packard wing refused to accept the offer, although Grant apparently favored it. Pinchback and his followers, from the Turners' Hall Convention, declared they were Warmoth's friends but would not follow him out of the Republican party. 10

⁷ Times, March 6, 1872. Pinchback supported Warmoth's assertion about the Governor's ability to control the legislature. He declared the degree assumed by the public. He thought that nobody in the world could control the House and that Warmoth's strength in the last Legislature was not sufficient to carry through the reforms he advocated. Times, March 11, 1872.

⁸ Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 474; Picayune, March 7, 1872; Times, March 20, 1872:
⁹ Times, March 21, 23, 1872; Picayune, March 26, 29, 1872; Republican, March 26, 29, 1872. At this time Pinchback was wavering between the factions, and possibly was interested in the nomination for governor himself. He was chairman of the Republican State Committee appointed by the Turners' Hall Convention the previous year. Pinchback and Seator A. B. Harris were in Washington representing the faction which grew out of the Turners' Hall meeting.

¹⁰ Times, March 26, 1872. Packard later said that Warmoth had proposed a compromise, but that he opposed the plan since the whole struggle thus far had been against the Governor. Republican, May 2, 1872.

Meanwhile, the corruption of Grant's administration on a national scale had become so apparent to Republicans everywhere that a third party was introduced in the presidential race, the Liberal Republican Party, made up of those elements opposed to the re-election of Grant. The Liberal Republicans were introduced in Louisiana by the publication of a circular urging the people to support the new party's convention at Cincinnati in May, rather than the Grant Republican convention to be held in Philadelphia. The document was signed by Warmoth, Southworth, Herron, a number of former Republican party leaders, and included the names of five hundred citizens. They condemned the administration of Grant for having exerted undue interference in state affairs.¹¹

The Democratic Central Committee called a convention to meet April 18, but the convention adjourned after heated debates as to the course the party would take in the coming struggles, and no nominations were made. A resolution was adopted declaring that Governor Warmoth was unworthy of the respect and confidence of the people, and that any political connection with him would be dishonorable and injurious to the best interest of Louisiana.¹²

The failure of the convention to make nominations was due to an element in the party which favored coalition with Warmoth to prevent the Customhouse Republicans from electing Grant and winning the state vote in November.

The trend toward this coalition began as early as 1870, when Thomas Green Davidson, one of the leading Democrats in the House, began to collaborate with Warmoth on political matters. In the Legislature of January, 1871, Davidson was a ringleader in the Democratic-Warmoth movement against the Dunn-Lowell combination. The Democrats were divided on the question of coalition and remained so until the summer of 1872.¹³

¹¹ Picayune, April 17, 1872: Times, April 18, 1872; Annual Cyclopedia. 1872, p. 475.
Warmoth led the Louisiana delegation in the Liberal Republican Convention, which opened May

 1, 1872. Picayune, May 1, 1872. The Liberals nominated Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown for President and Vice President, respectively.

¹² Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 475; Republican, April 21, 1872.

¹³ Republican, April 21, 1872. See evidences of early Democratic coalition with Warmoth, in letters (January 6, 26, 1871) from E. J. Ellis to Thomas Ellis; Thomas Ellis to E. J. Ellis (January 12, 1872); William Duncan to J. B. Wand (January 19, 1872). Ellis, (E. John, Thomas C. W., and Family) Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.)

The New Orleans Bee described the faction in the Democratic party which favored Warmoth:

The contest for the administration of the State government for the next four years begins to take shape. The developments made in the Democratic State Convention all show the existence of a faction within the ranks of the Democratic party, whose object is to combine with Gov. Warmoth and the so-called Liberal Republicans in an attempt to carry the election in November next. . . . For upward of twelve months we have been cognizant that this scheme was in process of execution. 14

Warmoth courted the favor of Democrats during his administration by appointing large numbers of them to office. Probably he did this because he saw that his own party would not remain faithful to him after his power became so extensive. The factional quarrel in Louisiana was usually explained as a mere struggle for power between two contending parties. One correspondent explained Warmoth's position with the Democrats thus:

This young man, Warmoth, who plays the game of politics as cooly, and much in the same style as a veteran gambler handles the "pasteboards," is probably the most astute politician living in the South to-day. He is bold, determined, far-seeking and politically unscrupulous. . . . he is socially the best of fellows, makes friends of all, enemies included, who come in contact with him, and, to do him justice, he has for some time back earnestly labored to lighten the burdens upon the people, the original imposition of which he excuses on the ground of party exigency.

Long ago he probably realized the fact that his inordinate political ambition could not be gratified without conciliating the older and wiser people, who were destined sooner or later to come into possession of their own State, and he set himself about the task so quietly and so shrewdly that before he was off with the old love he was far on with the new. . . . 15

14 New Orleans Bee, as quoted in Times, April 27, 1872.

¹⁸ New York Herald, as quoted in Republican, May 3, 1872. General B. B. Simms, a Democrat, declared that in the winter of 1870 Governor Warmoth had spoken at a dinner of his desire to serve the best interests of the people could he but know them. Simms said that afterwards he had often recommended Democrats to Warmoth for appointment and the Governor had accepted them. Times, June 6, 1872.

On April 30, the Customhouse, or Gatling Gun, Republicans met in a convention led by S. B. Packard and nominated delegates to the Grant Republican convention at Philadelphia. They resolved that the Governor had used force to prevent his impeachment and had refused to permit reform measures passed by the Legislature to become laws, either through the opposition of his friends or because of his failure to sign the bills.¹⁶

P. B. S. Pinchback visited the Customhouse Convention and urged a reconciliation between the hostile factions in the party. There were now three divisions of the Republican organization, he declared, the Customhouse, the Pinchback, and the Warmoth factions. Two months ago he had assured them that if the Republicans did not settle their differences with the Governor the Democrats would support him to regain control of the state. ¹⁷ He warned the colored men that they should stick to the Requblican party for their own good instead of supporting the Democrats or Reformers. ¹⁸

The Pinchback Convention, an offshoot of the Turners' Hall Convention of the year before, met May 28, 1872, in New Orleans. The Convention declared itself in favor of uniting the discordant elements of the State Republican party against any attempts by the Democrats to take advantage of their division. A further resolution announced the support of the Convention for Warmoth as Governor again:

... we recognize in Governor Warmoth an officer who has combined with an efficient discharge of public duties an unimpeachable fidelity to the principles and the policy of the party by which he was elevated to his high position; ... he is our first choice for the office of Governor at the next election, ... and [we] urge all other Republican organizations to indorse and support him. 19

Pinchback was declared the nominee of the convention for Lieutenant Governor. The convention then adjourned to meet again at Baton Rouge on June 19, evidently to attempt a compromise with the Customhouse convention.

¹⁶ Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, pp. 475-476.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 476.

¹⁸ Times, May 2, 1872.

¹⁹ Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, pp. 476-477. Among the participants at the Pinchback convention were A. B. Harris, Hugh J. Campbell, and H. C. Dibble, all good friends of the Governor. Times, May 30, 1872.

In a communication to the president of the Pinchback convention, on June 13, Warmoth declined the nomination in the following words:

It now appears to be the intention of the majority of the members of the convention, on its reassembling at Baton Rouge, to attempt an alliance with the customhouse party, which is to meet at that place on the same day, for the purpose of reuniting with those whom I consider the most dangerous enemies of the country and the State, with the arrogant, dictatorial, and corrupt Administration of General Grant. . . .

It was in order to avert these evils [the activities of Grant and the Federal officials in Louisiana] . . . that I went to Cincinnati and participated in the nomination of Greeley and Brown. . . . I have resolved to devote all my energies to the service of the Liberal Republican party, and the allies who may act with it in this contest.²⁰

On June 3 and 4, the Democrats and Reformers, respectively, again met in convention. Debate in both bodies was on the question as to whether they should support Warmoth in the state campaign. A minority of the Democratic Convention favored the suport of Warmoth as a measure against the old Republican machine in the state. The two conventions appointed committees of conference which recommended a state ticket to be accepted by both bodies. The Reform Convention accepted the ticket, headed by George Williamson; but the Democrats rejected it and nominated another set of officials for state offices, led by John McEnery as the candidate for Governor.²¹

When the Liberal Republican Convention met on August 5, Governor Warmoth set at rest the accusation of the *Picayune* that he was the real boss of the Liberal party and that it had been organized merely to re-elect him governor. He declared that he was not a candidate for governor on the Liberal ticket but would use all his power in behalf of its program. The Governor's announcement caused a great shower of applause in his behalf.²² Committees of conference were then appointed by the Democratic, Liberal, and Reform parties to agree on a Fusion State ticket composed of all elements opposed to Regular Re-

²⁰ Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 477; Picayune, June 15, 1872.

²¹ Times, June 4, 7, 1872; Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, pp. 477-478.

³² Times, August 10, 1872. By this time, hints and outright proposals had been made that Warmoth, in return for declining any movement for him as governor, would be "kicked upstairs into the Senate," as one speaker phrased it.

publican rule. John McEnery headed the ticket for Governor, with D. P. Penn for Lieutenant Governor, the Democrats and Reformers having already agreed on this new ticket with one or two exceptions. The Fusion support in the presidential contest went to the Liberal Republican candidates as a concession to the Liberals in Louisiana.²³

The Pinchback Convention, meanwhile, after many stormy sessions in both New Orleans and Baton Rouge, had finally fused with the Customhouse Convention and nominated William Pitt Kellogg for Governor and C. C. Antoine for Lieutenant Governor.²⁴ There were then two tickets in the race, the Kellogg-Grant ticket versus the McEnery-Greeley ticket.

Warmoth, after the Fusion ticket was completed, spoke to a mass meeting called in September to ratify the nominations. He then told the truth about his action relative to the modifications in the obnoxious laws passed by the last Legislature:

... It is known to all of you that I recommended in no uncertain language to the Legislature the repeal of certain laws. The Legislature did modify those laws. Those bills have passed the Legislature and are before me for signature; and now I propose to tell the people of this city, and, through their representatives here, the people of this State, the simple, plain reason that I do not sign those laws. In the first place they make no material modification of the old election and registration laws. In the second place it was intended when the repeal of those laws was effected through the Legislature, that instead of them Grant should use his election law upon the people of this State. And then, besides, the great mass of the people who had so long demanded the modification and repeal of these laws, have entirely changed their minds. [Laughter.] I have no objection to that going into print. I have no objection to being perfectly understood upon this question, and to say that we intend to take all the legal, all the righteous, all the honest and fair advantages in this election that our position authorizes us to take, and that we do not intend to have our ballot boxes surrounded by United States Inspectors and by United States Commissioners of Election. . . . There had been a threat . . . that Gen. Phil. Sheridan is coming here to help carry the State for Grant. Let me tell Grant that it will take more men than Gen. Sheridan can command to carry this State for him. [Applause.] . . .

²³ Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 480.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 478-481.

And now I will close, having placed myself fully on record, and so fair and squarely upon the record that even the editors of the *Picayune* may know where I am . . .

[Prolonged applause.] 25

Soon after his announcement that he still held the unsigned election laws, Warmoth left New Orleans to go to New York on business and was preceded by Lieutenant Governor Pinchback who had gone north to confer with Grant Republicans on the coming election. When Pinchback heard that Warmoth was out of the State, he caught a train from New York and began a wild rush to beat the Governor back to Louisiana in hopes that as Acting Governor he could sign the bills and thereby remove some of the Governor's powers to control the election. But the Governor was informed of Pinchback's intentions and he, too, got on a train and started for Louisiana though several hours later.

Warmoth and his friends laid a scheme to halt the flight of the Lieutenant Governor. En route he was informed that a telegram awaited him in a telegraph office and that he alone could receive it. The unsuspecting Lieutenant Governor got off the train and went into the office for his message, thinking it was from his friends who were anxiously awaiting his arrival. By some "trick" the door to the office was locked while Pinchback was inside, and before he could scramble on the train it pulled out for New Orleans, and the unhappy man was left to spend the night wishing another train would come along. The next morning he heard a great racket, and soon a train came in sight tearing through the country at a terrific speed. When it slowed down, he beheld the gleeful countenance of Governor Warmoth on the platform. Thus the Customhouse Republicans were outwitted by Warmoth, who then invited Pinchback to ride the rest of the way with him. The unsigned bills were still securely in the Governor's possession.26

On November 4, the election took place with few of the disturbances characteristic of previous elections during reconstruction days in Louisiana. But immediately thereafter a controversy began as to who were the proper officials to count the returns and announce the victors.

²⁵ Times, September 6, 1872.

³⁶ Ibid., September 19, 1872. Even the *Picayune*, September 20, 1872, praised the Governor for his victory in the great race.

The Election Law of 1870 provided for a Returning Board consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, and John Lynch and T. C. Anderson. This Board met on November 14, and Lynch moved that Pinchback and Anderson be declared ineligible as members because they were candidates in the recent election. The other members agreed that their places should be vacated, and Pinchback favored the decision. About the same time, Colonel Jack Wharton came in with a commission from Warmoth appointing him Secretary of State in the place of F. J. Herron who was forced from the Secretary's office that same day by the Metropolitan Police.27

A great deal of confusion arose when Lynch and Herron protested against the seating of Wharton, who took his position at the table anyway. Warmoth then moved that Frank H. Hatch and Durant DaPonte be declared elected to fill the vacancies on the board, and he and Wharton voted "aye", while Lynch did not vote at all. Judge W. H. Cooley proceeded to swear in Hatch and DaPonte, and about the same time Herron and Lynch left the room, insisting that the proceedings were irregular.²⁸

Lynch gave a different account of what occurred on November 14. Both he and Herron claimed that the latter moved the election of General James Longstreet and Jacob Hawkins to fill the vacancies. Herron also asserted that he was still the legal Secretary of State and held the official seal. There were then two existing boards, the Warmoth Board consisting of Warmoth, Wharton, Hatch, DaPonte, and Lynch; and the Lynch Board, composed of Longstreet, Herron, Hawkins, Warmoth and Lynch.29

Also on November 14, General Herron obtained an injunction from Judge Dibble prohibiting the Warmoth Board from acting as the returning officers, and recognizing Herron as the legal Secretary of State.³⁰ An engraver testified in the case that he had refused to deliver a seal which Herron had ordered him to make, and O. D. Bragdon, Assistant Secretary of State, declared he had turned the regular seal over to Wharton.31 Ruling that Warmoth could not remove Herron under the Constitution, Dibble decided on November 19 that the latter was still Secretary and the Lynch Board was the legally elected board.32

Picayune, November 15, 1872.
 Report of Warmoth, who acted as president of the Board, ibid.

³⁰ Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., no. 457, Majority Report, p. vii.

³⁰ Picayune, November 14, 1872.

 ³¹ Ibid., November 19, 1872.
 32 Ibid., November 20, 1872.

Both boards had appealed to Dibble's Eighth District Court for an injunction against the other, and temporary injunctions had been granted on each side. It was generally admitted that Dibble had been defeated for re-election by a vote of two to one, and that he wished to defeat the Warmoth Board, which would have declared immediately that E. J. Elmore was elected. He knew that recognition of the Lynch Board would delay the installation of his successor.³³

Then, on the following day Warmoth threw a monkeywrench in the plans of the Lynch Board by signing the Election Bill passed in the last legislature. Under this law the Senate was empowered to appoint a returning board of five members, and the Governor claimed that all old boards were automatically abolished, since the law declared that its provisions should take effect as soon as it passed.³⁴

The astute Governor fired his next gun in a proclamation of November 21 calling for an extra session of the Legislature to convene on December 9 for consideration of the extraordinary state of affairs. Obviously he wanted the Senate to elect a returning board under the new law which would have a stronger legal basis than either the Warmoth Board or the Lynch Board.³⁵

After the Governor's coup Judge Dibble allowed an appeal for a new trial of the Lynch Board against its opponents, the hearing to take place on November 25. To defeat his intentions, Warmoth proclaimed that Elmore had been elected, and although no official returns had been made, he commissioned the new judge who was then installed by force on November 22, and Dibble was ousted. The new official immediately ruled that both the Lynch Board and the Warmoth Board were abolished, granted a motion for a new trial, and dissolved the old injunctions.³⁶

Using as his authority Article 61 of the Constitution, which allowed the Governor to fill vacancies occurring during the vacation of the Assembly, Warmoth appointed a new Returning Board known as the DeFeriet Board, of which Gabriel DeFeriet was chairman, to comply with the law he had recently signed. The

34 Laws of Louisiana, 1872, Act 98.

⁸⁸ Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., no. 457, Majority Report, p. viii.

³⁵ Picayune, November 22, 1872; Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., no. 457, Majority Report, pp. viii-ix.

³⁶ Picayune, November 22, December 4, 1872; Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., no. 457, p. ix.

following day, December 4, he announced the returns as made by the DeFeriet Board, including the election of the Greeley ticket and the McEnery ticket in the state election.³⁷

Meanwhile, Warmoth's plans were interrupted by Judge E. H. Durell of the United States Circuit Court for Louisiana. On November 16, William Pitt Kellogg instituted proceedings in Durell's court against the Warmoth Board, asking for an injunction against any action on the election returns. Kellogg's petition represented his fear that the Warmoth Board would declare McEnery elected, thereby depriving Kellogg of his right to the office which he claimed.

The majority of the Senate Committee which investigated the Louisiana election stated that Kellogg ignored the provision of the Enforcement Act, under which his proceedings were instituted, permitting the jurisdiction of Federal courts only if a person's claim to office was interfered with by the denial of the right to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.³⁸

On December 3, Warmoth obtained an injunction against the Lynch Board from Judge Elmore, and when the latter board applied for a writ in the Federal courts to remove the Warmoth suit, Elmore ignored the order. On the failure of Lynch to carry the case further, Elmore's injunction remained in effect.³⁹

At this point the Governor probably congratulated himself on his victory over Judge Durell, said the Senate Committee:

... but, unfortunately for the governor's joy, Judge Durell took a very different view of the situation; and, out of court, at his house, late at night, December 5, without application by any party, made the following order, which is without parallel, and it is hoped will remain so, in judicial proceedings:

[According to Durell's order Warmoth had announced persons as elected on returns made by an illegal board.] "Now, therefore, in order to prevent the further obstruc-

³⁷ Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, pp. 482, 483; Picayune, December 5, 1872. When the Legislature met in extra session, the Senate declared elected by this board appointed the Forman Board which received and promulgated the returns held by DeFeriet. Picayune, December 18, 1872.

³⁸ Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., no. 457, Majority Report, pp. xi-xv. Enforcement Act of May 31, 1870, and the amendment to the Act of February 28, 1871, are quoted in part, ibid., pp. x-xi.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. xv-xvi. Yet the State Supreme Court, which Kellogg admitted to be in sympathy with the Customhouse faction, recognized the Lynch Board and therewith threw weight on Kellogg's side. See Kellogg's letter to the Attorney General, House Exec. Doc., 42 Cong. 3 Sess., no. 91, pp. 6-7.

tion of the proceedings in this cause, and, further, to prevent a violation of the orders of this court, to the imminent danger of disturbing the public peace, it is hereby ordered that the marshal of the United States for the district of Louisiana shall forthwith take possession of the building known as the Mechanics' Institute, and occupied as the State-House for the assembling of the legislature therein, . . . and hold the same subject to the further order of this court, and meanwhile to prevent all unlawful assemblage therein under the guise or pretext of authority claimed by virtue of pretended canvass and returns made by said pretended returning officers in contempt and violation of said restraining order; but the marshal is directed to allow the ingress and egress to and from the public offices in said building of persons entitled to the same.

"E. H. Durell."

It is impossible to conceive of a more irregular, illegal, and in every way inexcusable act on the part of a judge. Conceding the power of the court to make such an order, the judge, out of court, had no more authority to make it than had the marshal. It has not even the form of judicial process. It was not sealed, nor was it signed by the clerk, and had no more legal effect than an order issued by any private person.⁴⁰

The election returns were never canvassed by any board under the Election Law of 1870, and under the new law the DeFeriet Board certainly had more claim to legality than any other group. But the Lynch Board proceeded on December 6 to declare Kellogg elected Governor, although it was well known that this board had never seen any of the official returns.⁴¹ Even if the Lynch Board could be considered valid, it had no returns on which to declare Kellogg elected.

On the day following Durell's judicial outrage, December 6, Marshall Packard and two companies of United States troops took possession of the State House under the court's order. The Attor-

⁴⁰ Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., no. 457, Majority Report, pp. xvi-xvii. Kellogg's usurpation was "trumped up under the Enforcement Act," roared the Nation. In all this "odious deformity" Grant had never lifted a finger against the connivance of a "band of rascally adventurers." "The Louisiana Revolution," Nation, XIX (1874), 198-199; "The Law and the Facts in Louisiana," ibid., XX (1875), 20-21.

⁴¹ Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., no. 457, Majority Report, pp. xvii-xviii; Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 483. Although Kellogg claimed frauds prevented his rightful election, evidence taken by the congressional investigating committee showed that the election on the whole was fair. A. M. Gibson, A Political Crime (New York, 1885), 338, 339.

ney General of the United States had already telegraphed Packard to enforce the orders of the Federal courts in any case and to secure the aid of General Emory.42

Another order of Judge Durell, issued on December 7, restrained the Governor from publishing in the official journal any returns except those made by the Lynch Board. The Metropolitan Police were not to interfere with the actions of Marshal Packard, and the Legislature should not be organized except with the members which the Lynch Board declared elected. 43

The Legislature recognized by Durell met under the protection of troops in the extra session called by Warmoth. On the first day, December 9, a resolution was passed in the Senate impeaching Warmoth for high crimes and misdemeanors—a vote of fifty-seven to six. In a short while a joint resolution declared the Governor suspended from office pending the trial.44

Meanwhile the persons holding certificates of election from Warmoth based on returns filed by the DeFeriet Board met in Lyceum Hall and prepared a memorial to the President claiming that Durell's action was unlawful and asking that the troops be removed from the State House. But the Federal authorities declined to interfere.45

Warmoth and McEnery attended the mass meeting held on December 11 to protest against the actions of the Legislature headed by Lieutenant Governor Pinchback, which had "proceeded with indecent haste to impeach the Governor of the State." A citizens' committee of one hundred men was appointed to lay their grievances before the President in Washington. 46

The same day Warmoth issued a proclamation recognizing the McEnery Legislature and warning the people against having anything to do with the Pinchback government.47

Grant's position was best illustrated during the hectic struggles in the telegrams dispatched and received by the leading figures of the day.48 On December 12, Casey telegraphed the President:

Important that you immediately recognize Governor Pinchback's legislature in some manner, either by instruct-

⁴² Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., no. 457, Majority Report, p. liv..
43 Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, pp. 482, 483.
44 House Journal, 1872, Extra Session, 5-6.
45 Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 483.
46 Picayune, December 11, 1872.
47 Annual Cyclopedia, 1872, p. 484. Pinchback had assumed to act as Governor when his Legislature declared Warmoth suspended. He still claimed to be a member of the Senate, although his term of office expired the day of the election.
48 These telegrams are quoted in Senate Reports, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., no. 457, pp. lix-lxi.

ing General Emory to comply with any requisition by Governor Pinchback, under joint resolution of legislature of Monday, or otherwise. This would quiet matters much. I earnestly urge this and ask a reply.

On December 11 and 12, Warmoth and McEnery, respectively, had earnestly requested President Grant to withold recognition of the Pinchback government, at least until the citizens' committee could arrive in Washington to lay their side of the case before him. But the Attorney General sent the following message to Pinchback on December 12:

Let it be understood that you are recognized by the President as the lawful legislature of Louisiana, and that the body assembled at Mechanics' Institute is the lawful legislature of the State, and it is suggested that you make proclamation to that effect, and also that all necessary assistance will be given to you and the legislature herein recognized to protect the State from disorder and violence.

The very curt reply to McEnery's plea was sent the next day:

Your visit with a hundred citizens will be unavailing so far as the President is concerned. His Decision is made and will not be changed, and the sooner it is acquiesced in the sooner good order and peace will be restored.

Despite the illegality of the Pinchback government, its recognition by Grant⁴⁹ made it the *de facto* government of Louisiana, and the House proceeded to prepare seven articles of impeachment against the Governor.⁵⁰

When the Senate convened as a court of impeachment on December 18, Warmoth's name was called out by Chief Justice John T. Ludeling, the presiding officer, but neither the Governor nor his counsel appeared. Judge W. W. Howe, recently resigned as a member of the State Supreme Court, appeared before the court on December 23 and asked an extension of twenty days to prepare his defense. Thereafter the court was discontinued until January 9, 1873.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Grant's real interest in the Louisiana political scene was to defend his supporters—not to attack his personal enemy, Warmoth, as was sometimes claimed. Warmoth's power had reached its climax before the election of 1872, and Grant wanted Kellogg to be Governor not because he was anti-Warmoth but because he was pro-Grant. See the President's message to the Senate on interference of Federal troops. James D. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents (Washington, 1898), VII, 305-306.

Ficayune, December 15, 1872; House Journal, 1872, pp. 20-22.
 Picayune, December 19, 24, 1872.

But before the Senate could hold another impeachment court Kellogg was inaugurated Governor before the Pinchback Legislature on January 13. Warmoth's term officially ended on that day, and three days later the question arose as to whether the trial should be continued. Chief Justice Ludeling rendered the opinion that such proceedings should be confined to persons holding office. The Senate then adopted his judgment by a vote of fifteen to four,⁵² and the attempt to impeach Henry Clay Warmoth was ended.

The McEnery Legislature, meanwhile, met again in January, and some of Warmoth's friends in the body tried to get him elected United States Senator. Although he claimed he was not particularly anxious for the place but would take it if the people wanted him, the ex-Governor failed to get the necessary votes—receiving only thirty-three of the forty-five needed for election.⁵³

Thereafter Warmoth's influence in Louisiana politics was slight, though he participated in state Republican matters for years afterwards. The future of Warmoth in Louisiana was well predicted by Harrison C. Hobart in a letter to Mayor Benjamin F. Flanders discussing the factional war:

As soon as one swarm is driven from . . . [the state] a hungrier one takes its place. The position taken by the President, whether constitutional or not will probably drive away the Warmoth crowd. This bold political Buccaneer has not friends anywhere. . . . 54

Admitted by all to be a young man of charming manners and appearance, affable to all with whom he came in contact, whether friend or enemy, Warmoth was typical of that element which came into power while Southern governments were torn asunder through efforts at reconstruction. In ordinary times he could never have become governor of Louisiana. He came into office with the aid of Negro voters whose right to vote he was among the very first to declare and then to use.

On political measures, Henry Clay Warmoth controlled the Legislature; but on matters pertaining to finance, the businessmen flaunted their ready cash and the members reeled off moneymaking schemes by the score. The corruption which pervaded

53 Picayune, January 19, March 2, 1873.

⁸² House Journal, 1873, pp. 105-109: Senate Journal, 1873, p. 60.

⁸⁴ Flanders, (Benjamin F.) Papers. (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge). Letter to Flanders from Hobart, December 18, 1872.

Louisiana was made of both foreign and home-grown stuff and was no respecter of parties. The nation's leading swindlers, such as Oakes Ames, were in on some of the deals; and petty racketeers from states too numerous to mention trampled over one another in their haste to get at the Louisiana legislators. The Carondelet Brokers, the so-called "old respectables" of New Orleans, were not loath to cross the outstretched palms with bribe money. The political chaos which attended reconstruction in the state only made abuses more flagrant and more in open violation of public confidence than similar corruption in many Northern states.

Warmoth looked out for his own interests, and yet he was not devoid of sympathy for the hard-pressed people who paid huge taxes and saw a heavy debt mount higher and higher. The legislators passed money bills because they wanted to, and Governor Warmoth's vetoes, had he presented even more than he did, would not have stopped them. Pinchback himself declared in 1872 that nobody in the world could control the Louisiana House of Representatives.

In the Republican Convention of 1876 Warmoth was nominated on the first ballot for governor against S. B. Packard, but withdrew in favor of the latter on the second ballot. Instead, he went to the State Legislature in 1876-77 as a representative from Plaquemines Parish, and in 1879 he served the same parish as a member of the Louisiana Constitutional Convention. From 1890 to 1893 he served as Collector of the Port of New Orleans, having been appointed by Benjamin Harrison, and in 1896, 1900, and 1908 Warmoth was a delegate to the Republican National conventions.

In 1873 Warmoth and his friend Colonel Effingham Lawrence bought an interest in Magnolia Plantation in Plaquemines Parish where they began expermenting in the sugar industry, and when Lawrence died in 1877, Warmoth bought his interest in the Magnolia Sugar Refining Company which they had established. On May 30, 1877, Warmoth, now thirty-five years old, married Sallie Durand of Newark, New Jersey, and they moved to

56 Ella Lonn, "Henry Clay Warmoth," Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1936), XIX, 457.

⁸⁵ Kendall, History of New Orleans, I, 394-395. In the disputed election of 1876 Warmoth was a member of the counsel for defense of Republican candidates claiming election. Annual Cyclopedia, 1876, p. 488.

Magnolia where they lived for several years. Two sons and a daughter were born of this Union, Frank Sheridan, Reinette Lester, and Carroll Kennon.

Under Warmoth's care Magnolia was one of the first sugar plantations in Louisiana; his household was "famed for lavish hospitality and entertaining." A fine grove of orange trees and flowering shrubbery furnished the picturesque background of a genial antebellum host greeting his guests before the broad entrance.⁵⁷

To get his sugar to his factory Warmoth built the New Orleans, Fort Jackson, and Grand Isle Railroad of which he became president. He was a leader in sugar experimenting and in 1884 went to Europe to study the beet-sugar industry. President Chester A. Arthur gave him a letter of introduction, so that he was a semiofficial representative of the Federal Government during his observations abroad. When Warmoth returned, he got the government to establish one of the first sugar experiment stations in the country at Magnolia. He declared that he sold his interest in the sugar industry when low tariffs made it unprofitable. He then removed his family to New Orleans.⁵⁸

Years later, just before he died Warmoth wrote War, Politics and Reconstruction in answer to many requests that he tell what really happened while he was Governor. Unfortunately for history, Warmoth's autobiography was good reading, but it failed to throw new light on his connection with state politics.⁵⁹

Warmoth died in New Orleans, October 1, 1931, at the age of eighty-nine.⁶⁰ Union soldier, a carpetbagger with scruples and at the same time a ruthless political dictator, an enigma to his contemporaries and to historians, he had chosen to live the mellow years of his life and to die in the state that he had helped to plunder. In his way he must have loved Louisiana and the South.

⁵⁷ A. Meynier, Jr., Meynier's Louisiana Biographies, Part I, (New Orleans, 1882), 51; Louisiana Library Commission, Sponsors (Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration), Louisiana: A Guide to the State (New York, 1941), 563.

⁵⁸ Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction, 67.

⁵⁹ See New Orleans Times-Picayune, Ocother 1, 1931; New York Times, October 1, 1931.
60 Warmoth's political career and his prominence as a sugar planter gave him a position in the country which merited his biography in Who's Who in America from 1901 to 1917; and after his retirement, a reference to previous biographical data was included in every volume until his death in 1931. See A. N. Marquis, ed., Who's Who in America (Chicago, 1902-1931), II-XVI.

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DRAINAGE RECLAMATION IN THE COASTAL MARSH-LANDS OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER DELTA¹

By Robert W. Harrison and Walter M. Kollmorgen²

Foreword

In the history of land development and settlement in the Alluvial Valley of the Mississippi River, the Louisiana marshlands hold a unique place. Not only did the physical setting (the necessity to pump drainage waters, the likelihood of storm tides, etc.) require a type of reclamation distinct from that found elsewhere in the Valley, but the process of settlement in the reclaimed marshlands distinguishes it from the numerous gravity-and pump-drained areas located to the north in the valley of the Great River.

The failure of many of the land reclamations attempted in this area during the early 1900's has tended to retard discussion and planning of new marshland reclamation. Now, however, sharply rising land prices and the desire to provide new lands for veterans returning to the heavily populated farm areas of southern Louisiana have stimulated interest in the large area of undeveloped coastal marsh in close proximity to New Orleans and the bayou settlements of lower Louisiana. Active reclamation associations, composd of influential citizens interested in these marshlands, are now operating in New Orleans and other cities of Louisiana. Parish agricultural agents and U. S. Department of Agriculture officials are asked almost daily for advice concerning the suitability of the marshlands for farming and the possibility of reclaiming them. The Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior and other public and private

¹This statement and similar reports on drainage for other parts of the Valley will be used in preparing a comprehensive report for the Bureau of Agricultural Economics under the title: Land Development and Settlement in the Alluvial Valley of the Lower Mississippi River.

River.

Robert W. Harrison is an Agricultural Economist with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics: Walter M. Kollmorgen is Professor of Geography, University of Kansas. The owners and operators of marshland reclamation projects in lower Louisiana have offered many suggestions during the preparation of this report. Tulane and Louisiana State University libraries have made available their valuable collections of early reclamation literature. Tulane University has a particularly fine collection. The Louisiana Historical Society library also offered some interesting material. Members of the Department of Agricultural Economics, Louisiana State University, assisted in many ways during the field trips. This study was started under the genreal direction of Robert D. Davidson, who gave valuable advice and much encouragement. The authors also wish to express their appreciation to Hugh H. Wooten, Margaret Purcell, and Johanna Kollmorgen.

agencies have lately expressed interest in the possibility of reclaiming certain of these lands. In recent sessions of Congress, bills which would extend the official territory of the Bureau of Reclamation to include the Mississippi Valley have been discussed.³ Throughout southern Louisiana numerous meetings and informal discussions of the proper way to proceed with marshland reclamation have been held during the past year. The possible contributions of the Federal Government to this work have been much debated. Clearly, marshland reclamation is again a

³ See House Document No. 520 and Senate Bill No. 440, 78th Congress.



Figure 1. Map of Louisiana, showing coastal marshlands. The marshlands of the Mississippi River Delta lie largely to the east of the Iberia-Saint Mary Parish boundary. (Courtesy Department of Agricultural Economics, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.)

question of current interest in Louisiana, with the Federal Government considered the principal source of capital for future reclamation work. This study presents briefly the economic and social history of Louisiana marshland reclamation projects, and the basic problems which confront present-day land developers.

Location, Extent, and General Characteristics of the Coastal Marshes of the Mississippi Alluvial Valley

Figure 1 shows the general location of the coastal marshes of Louisiana. The coastal marshes of the Mississippi Alluvial Valley, that is, those built up by the sediment from the Mississippi River, should be distinguished from the marshes of southwestern Louisiana which have a different soil origin. According to Russell, Vermilion Bay, approximately the mid-point of the Louisiana coast, divides the marshlands built up by the action of the Mississippi River and those formed by other drainage systems. This study is limited to those marshland areas in the Mississippi flood plain or Delta. Most of the marshland drainage reclamations have been in this area, although some attempts at reclaiming the marshes of southwestern Louisiana have been made, as those near Gueydan, in Vermilion Parish.

Exact figures on the acreage of coastal marshlands in the lower Delta are not available.⁶ While the topographic survey for this part of Louisiana is reasonably complete, no land or soil classification has been made covering the entire area.⁷ The boundary between salt and fresh marsh has not been accurately determined at all points and the boundary between marshland and cypress swamp areas is in part unmapped. Estimates of the Delta area in marsh range from about 2,500,000 to 2,800,000 acres.⁸ Substantial portions of Orleans, St. Bernard, Plaque-

⁴ Richard Joel Russell, "Physiography of Lower Mississippi River Delta," in Lower Mississippi River Delta: Reports on the Geology of Plaquemines and St. Bernard Parishes (Geological Bulletin No. 8, Department of Conservation, Louisiana Geological Survey: New Orleans, Nov. 1, 1936).

⁵ For a popular description of the bayou country of southern Louisiana, see Harnett T. Kane, Bayous of Louisiana (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1944).

⁶ Relatively little air photography has been done in the marshes.

⁷ In 1903 the Bureau of Soils published in their Field Operations (pp. 439-460) a brief report on the "New Orleans Area." No recent soil surveys have been made in the marshes of the Mississippi River Delta. The survey of Livingston Parish, made in 1931, deals very briefly with marsh soils.

⁸ The Soil Conservation Service has recently completed a study of the Louisiana marshes. Their estimates of the acreage in marsh by parishes are as follows: Calcasieu, 65,074; Cameron, 791,013; Iberia, 125,040; Jefferson, 178,844; Lafourche, 471,203; Jefferson Davis, 7,739; Livingston, 33,544; Orleans, 71,959; Plaquemines, 539,313; St. Bernard, 303,186; St. Charles, 87,908; St. John the Baptist, 6,019; St. Mary, 128,170; St. Tammany, 45,227; Tangipahoa, 3,500; Terrebonne, 673,980; Vermilion, 370,623.

mines, Jefferson, St. Charles, Lafourche, Terrebonne, St. Mary and Iberia parishes are classed as coastal marsh. Small areas of marshland are also found in St. Tammany, Tangipahoa, Livingston and St. John the Baptist parishes. Various estimates of the acreage of marsh suitable for reclamation have been made. These have varied from 500,000 to over 2,000,000 acres. In making these estimates such factors as elevation, depth of organic matter, and nearness to railroads or canals have been considered. Obviously, such factors are matters of more or less arbitrary judgment and estimates of the acreage of marshland suitable for reclamation on such a basis are little better than guesses. Nevertheless, optimistic reports on the great extent of reclaimable marsh have influenced land developers and have led to a number of attempts to exploit this vast domain. Today, estimates of the acreage of reclaimable marsh are almost as plentiful as they were forty years ago, when pump-reclamation enthusiasts were busy installing projects to drain the Delta marshes.

While there is some doubt concerning the exact area of the marshlands and even greater uncertainty about the acreage which can be reclaimed, from both engineering and economic viewpoints, there is considerable knowledge of the general physical characteristics of the marshlands, particularly those bordering the higher and forested alluvial areas. The coastal marshes vary in elevation from slightly below to about 5 feet above mean Gulf level. The average elevation is probably 1.5 to 2 feet above the Gulf. The open fresh marsh merges gradually into the lower salt marsh which borders the Gulf. The land is so low that the regular Gulf tides may be observed far inland. Salt water has, during low water stages on Bayou Lafourche, flowed 70 miles or more inland.

In describing the natural drainage conditions of the marsh area Charles W. Okey, U. S. Department of Agriculture engineer, said:

Owing to the slight elevation of the land above sea level all of the streams are very sluggish in character. Their surface slopes are always very slight and are due entirely to the piling up of the water in the interior until sufficient head is created to force the water out into the Gulf. At times of high tide in the Gulf and small precipitation in the interior, the current is often reversed in many streams, and salt water

Ocharles W. Okey, Wet Lands of Southern Louisiana and Their Drainage (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Bulletin No. 71, April 30, 1914), 14.

flows many miles inland The fluctuation in water level, due to direct precipitation, in the various bayous and interior lakes is never very great and depends quite as much on the direction of the prevailing winds as on the amount of precipitation.10

The drainage areas are poorly defined and probably overlap, as some of the connecting streams frequently reverse their currents with the tides or according to the stages of water in various parts of the system. Under such conditions it is virtually impossible to measure the runoff accurately. However, as many areas discharge directly into the Gulf and others into large interior lakes. Okey and others have concluded that the marshes are relieved of precipitation without any great rise of water level in the main drainage channels. While this is true of the bulk of the marshlands, in the interior portions there are often rises of 3 or 4 feet in the waters of the drainage channels. This is a serious rise and has led to the construction of high, expensive levees on reclamation projects in the upper marshland area and to much costly pumping of seepage water where levees were defective.11

Apart from the problem of direct precipitation, two other important water problems occur in the marshlands—river overflow and tidal overflow. The marshes were built up by the annual deposits carried in the overflow water from the Mississippi and her outfall bayous.12 Before the marshlands could be safely developed, protection from overflow was naturally required. 13 The flood control system of the Mississippi and its tributary streams now affords reasonable overflow protection to the Louisiana

¹⁰ Ibid., 17.

¹¹ Ibid., 18.

^{13 &#}x27;Even before the construction of the artificial levee system, there was no raising of the general level of the marshes during periods of normal flow, and probably little sedimentation of the river bed excepting at its mouth, the most of the material which was carried in suspension to the lower portion of the river being carried out and deposited in the Gulf. As the river rose, however, the waters constantly sought additional outlets through the various bayous of the delta country. At times of extreme high water there was a general breaking over the banks of the river and its outlets. It is probable that the most of the building of the land above sea level had been done at such times." Statement of W. W. Clendenin in A Preliminary Report upon the Bluff and Mississippi Alluvial Lands of Louisiana (Reports on Geology and Agriculture, State of Louisiana), Pt. IV, p. 263, quoted in A. D. Morehouse, "Reclamation of Southern Louisiana Wet Prairie Lands," Scientific American Supplement No. 1843 (April 29, 1911), Pt. I, pp. 268-269.

15 Some geographers and soil scientists have proposed that the sediment-laden flood

¹⁸ Some geographers and soil scientists have proposed that the sediment-laden flood waters be turned into silting basins and in this way used to further land reclamation, but the majority of reclamation students have regarded the overflow waters as only a hazard to be prevented in the interest of a conventional land reclamation program. "Captain Eads is said to have declared that if the delta country had not been occupied till several hundred years later the overflows would have done so much upbuilding work that many of the problems of river control and drainage would have been solved by nature." Albert Phenis, "Potentialities of Louisiana's Wet Lands," Manufacturers Record (July 1914), 42.

marsh areas, although in the past, crevasses in the Mississippi levees seriously damaged many marshland reclamation projects. The huge private and governmental expenditures to obtain flood protection in lower Louisiana, including protection of the marshlands, is one of the most cogent reasons offered by present-day reclamation enthusiasts for development of these lands, particularly government-sponsored development. While the protection from river overflow is believed reasonable (though by no means assured), the problem of tidal overflow, so damaging to early reclamation efforts, remains. The daily range of tide along the Louisiana Gulf coast is small, the average being from 0.5 to 1.5 feet. During storms, however, the shallow water bordering the low coast frequently reaches considerable heights, often reversing the regular flow of the tide. At such times water is swept far inland, damaging reclamation projects where levees are of insufficient height.14 So damaging have storm tides proved to reclamation interests that a Gulf seawall has frequently been proposed by local interests as the only safeguard. Storm tides on Lake Pontchartrain have also proved damaging to reclamation bordering the lake. In describing individual drainage projects, frequent mention will be made of storms and storm tides. The fact that Louisiana's coastal marshes are in the path frequently followed by tropical storms may be a crucial factor in designing future reclamations or in deciding not to attempt them in certain areas.

The soils of the marshland have been the subject of much heated discussion. They are alternately pictured as worthless and as the most valuable agricultural soils in the Nation. The fact that the marshes were for many years almost unexplored except by trappers led to many extravagant beliefs concerning the soils and general physical characteristics of the area. Among these was the belief that the marshes were rapidly subsiding and that they were not stable lands but were floating on mud and water and therefore entirely unsafe and impossible of development for agriculture.

These concepts, of course, were exaggerated or untrue. The soils of the coastal marshes, like all the soils of the Alluvial Valley, have been built layer on layer during periods of overflow

¹⁴ Cf. J. Francis LeBaron, The Reclamation of River Deltas and Salt Marshes (American Society of Civil Engineers, Paper 990, June 1905), 93.

on the Mississippi and its distributary streams and by the decay of vegetable matter.15 In the deltaic plain considerable subsidence is in progress. This is more pronounced in the St. Bernard marshes than in the area west of the Mississippi River. The extent of the area seriously affected by subsidence has long been a controversial question with reclamation enthusiasts, though well recognized by geologists. In 1905, in a letter read at a meeting of the American Society of Civil Engineers, E. L. Corthell presented considerable data tending to show that the marshlands, particularly those at the mouth of the river and along the Gulf coast generally, were subject to a considerable subsidence, particularly since the leveeing of the river had stopped the annual deposits which were raising the level of the lower Delta. The apparent lowering of elevation of some old Spanish building located near the mouth of the river had led him to believe that a subsidence of possibly 1/20 foot per year was taking place. He believed that the subsidence of the marshlands was likely to be a very serious question as their reclamation was carried forward. He therefore stated:

The lands which the author¹⁶ includes in his general discussion of rice lands and other lands, on which formerly the finest sugar cane was raised, are affected by this general subsidence. Many large tracts which were formerly very productive in rice and particularly in sugar, have been abandoned in consequence of the salt water encroaching upon them. The people believed that it was due to the raising of the Gulf waters, but it is really the effect of the sinking of the land. Many of these lands are now completely covered with salt water. Many islands on the Gulf Coast—Caillou, Last Island and others—which were formerly pleasure resorts for the people of New Orleans, and were well above the water, have been abandoned for some time and are becoming marshes. Even in the interior, north of Lake Pontchartrain, there is proof of altered levels, although the change is less marked than on the coast.

The works and observations of many other writers seemed to substantiate this view. The United States Army Engineers, in

16 Corthell is discussing the paper, The Reclamation of River Deltas and Salt Marshes, by J. Francis LeBaron, cited above. The letter is printed on pages 83-87.

¹⁸ For an interesting analysis of the various strata of mineral passed through in digging a deep well in the lower Delta of the Mississippi see discussion of E. L. Corthell in The Reclamation of River Deltas and Salt Marshes (American Society of Civil Engineers, Paper 990), 83-84. Compare A. D. Morehouse, "Reclamation of Southern Louisiana Wet Prairie Lands," Scientific American Supplement No. 1843 (April 20, 1911), Pt. I, p. 268. Also see Harold N. Fisk, Geological Investigation of the Alluvial Valley of the Lower Mississippi (Mississippi River Commission, Vicksburg, 1944). The last is the most comprehensive study now available of the physical characteristics of the Valley.

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their reports of 1899 and 1900, stated that the lands about Port Eads had sunk at the rate of 1.0006 feet in 17 years but that the land about New Orleans was stationary. In 1914, at the height of the marshland reclamation, Charles W. Okey said, "Except in this relatively small area, near the mouth of the river, the remainder of this section of the State shows no change in elevation." For the most part modern drainage projects have been established relatively far back from the coast and there is little reason to believe that the slight changes in elevation which may be taking place here have seriously influenced the operation of projects. However, the question of subsidence in the delta marshlands is of the greatest importance and must be fully investigated where new projects are being planned.

The idea that the marshlands were not stable land surfaces but floating mats of marsh grass probably arose from the fact that when walking on the marsh soil, one cold feel the heavy, organic, watersoaked deposits tremble. To describe this characteristic the widely used term "trembling prairies" was coined and soon assumed an important place in local folklore. 18

The soil deposits found in the marshlands are basically similar to those found throughout the Alluvial Valley. The lands along the rivers and the numerous bayous which lead to the Gulf have been elevated by the action of the stream to form the natural levees so typical of the Alluvial Valley. Along these narrow margins of higher land and coarser textures forest growth has taken hold with the typical hardwoods such as water oak, ash, and maple on the higher lands, and cypress on the lower. In the marshlands proper no tree vegetation is found with the exception of a few "chenieres" or oak islands. The plant communities in selected areas of the marsh have been studied by William T. Penfound

¹⁷ Charles W. Okey, Wet Lands of Southern Louisiana and Their Drainage (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Bulletin No. 71, April 30, 1914), 8. The statements concerning subsidence in southern Louisiana published in this bulletin proved reassuring and were quoted in papers and books published all over the United States and abroad.

published all over the United States and abroad.

18 In the early literature the term "trembling prairies" was sometimes used to describe lands believed to be floating on mud and water. See, for example, D. M. Nesbit, Tide Marshes of the United States (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Miscellaneous Special Bulletin No. 7, Washington, D. C., 1885). The term "trembling prairies" has often been confused with the term "floating marsh." The latter is, according to Russell, the Anglicized version of "flotant", a type of coastal marsh found along many of the abandoned channels and in the low basins of the coastal areas of Louisians. In defining "flotant" Russell says: "It is a significant step in the evolutional sequence through which open water is converted into firm land. On one side of the flotant lie mats of floating vegetation covering areas that should be considered water. On the other side roseau marsh, firm under foot, valuable for trapping, subject to burning and essentially land." Richard Joel Russell, "Flotant," Geographical Review, Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (January 1942), p. 74.

and Edward S. Hathaway of Tulane University.19 Their studies of the plants found in fresh, brackish and saline marshes is a major contribution to the study of the ecology of the Louisiana coastal lands.

Most of the marshlands include alluvial deposits similar to those of the Sharkey and Galveston series modified by various amounts of silt and muck in the surface layer. On the higher ridges soils similar to the Sharkey clay are found, and in the lower areas deposits similar to the Galveston clay overlain by various thicknesses of muck are common. The lower-lying lands are little more than peat bogs to a depth of three feet or more.20 Soil scientists have frequently praised the productivity of the Sharkey soils, but they have also pointed out the difficulty of tillage and drainage in these soils. In 1903, when specialists of the Bureau of Soils of the U.S. Department of Agriculture made a survey of the New Orleans area, they wrote of this series: "The Sharkey clay is a soil of the highest productivity and adapted to purposes of general farming and dairying whenever adequate drainage can be secured."21 Of the lower-lying Galveston clay the U.S. Department of Agriculture field party had less to say, as they saw little chance of its successful drainage and observed that it had little agricultural value in the marsh state. The more recent studies of delta soil deposits stress the intractable nature of the clays and the acid and toxic conditions which are found in areas subject to salt water penetration.

Since the early work of the Bureau of Soils considerable areas of marshland have been reclaimed. They have proved similar to swamp and marshland in other regions of the United States. Having been formed on alluvial deposits, sometimes mixed with silt, the turf after cultivation for a few years frequently works into a soil well balanced in chemical composition.²² When the land is first drained it is soft and springy and pushes before

¹⁹ See William T. Penfound and Edward S. Hathaway, "Plant Communities in the Marshlands of Southeastern Louisiana," Ecological Monographs, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (January,

^{20 &}quot;A typical section of this land would show 2 to 4 feet of muck or humus with a 'sharkey clay' subsoil. The muck varies from an almost pure product of decayed marsh grasses with water plants to a soil made up of decayed vegetable matter mixed with considerable percentage of river silt. The lands lying in direct line of overflow from the Mississippi River and its bayou outlets contain the larger portion of silt. The presence of river deposits in the top soil is especially valuable during the first years of development, as it furnishes a complete soil which assists in plant growth until such a time as the humus has become thoroughly decayed and the plant roots are able to penetrate to the clay subsoil." A. M. Shaw, "Land Drainage in Louisiana," Engineering News, Vol. LXX, No. 7 (August 14, 1913), p. 300.

²¹ U. S. Dept. of Agri., Field Operations, op. cit., p. 452.

²² Cf. Charles W. Okey, Wet Lands of Southern Louisiana and Their Drainage, op. cit., p. 13.

the plow in great lumps rather than turning in a furrow. In the lower areas the land has often proved difficult to cultivate with horses or mules without special equipment. In some instances six to eight years have been required to get the muck worked and hardened into a good soil. Several operators on this type of soil reported that only periods of severe drought had dried the peat sufficiently for it to be worked into a compact body and mixed with the underlying clay. After several years of cultivation the marsh soils are likely to develop a high acidity due to sulphate which the soil contains. This is particularly true of areas near the Gulf, and in other areas where little silt is intermixed with the muck. In many instances these acid-forming materials have proved so abundant that extreme and expensive measures are required to control them and render the soil suitable for crops. Many reclamation projects failed because of this soil condition; those nearer the Gulf, where the sulphates left by the sea water are more concentrated, naturally suffered more severely.²³

Under cultivation the peat soil shrinks and settles to a considerable degree. Some fields after ten years of cultivation have settled three to four feet or more. The sunken fields of abandoned reclamation projects stand out as large square or rectangular ponds on the topographic sheets of southern Louisiana.24 This shrinking of soil, reducing the elevation of the areas already low, makes it necessary to have expensive levees around the reclaimed land to protect it from stream overflow and tidal waters, and it also means that a reworking of the interior drains is frequently necessary as the land settles.²⁵ An indirect but important element of this soil shrinkage is that it subjects the drained district to severe frost hazards as the cold air flows into the low-lying fields of the reclamation project. This flow of cold air has prevented the production of certain early vegetables on the reclaimed land of southern Louisiana at a time when they could be marketed to advantage.

The peat soils of the Louisiana marshes have many other characteristics common to organic soils. The excess nitrogen

²³ Probably the most extensive experiments dealing with marsh soils suffering from a high sulphate content are those carried out at Clovelly Farm, near Cut-Off, Louisiana, by Robert Morrison. Lime was applied in an attempt to offset the acids. Later several inches of calcareous sand were put on the land and mixed with the soil. This rather expensive procedure proved very beneficial and excellent crops are now produced on soil once so high in acid as to make crop production nearly impossible.

²⁴ For excellent examples of the flooded, sunken fields of reclamation projects, see the Cut-Off Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological Survey for Louisiana here presented as Figure 2.
²⁵ Many of the reclaimed fields are three to four feet or more below Gulf mean level.

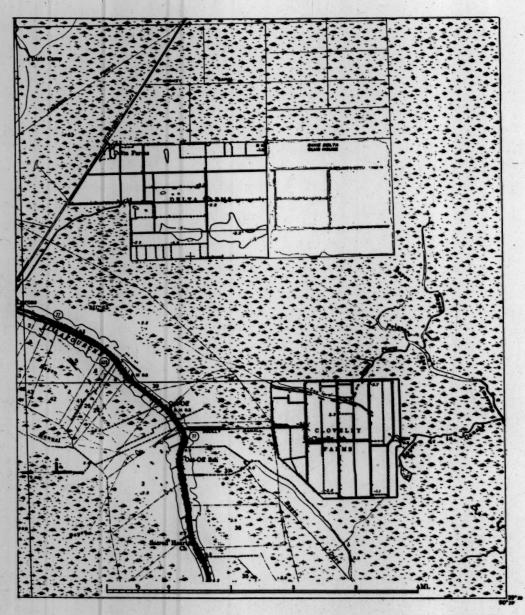


Figure 2. Portion of the Cut-Off (Louisiana) Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological Survey showing Delta and Clovelly Farms. Note that part of the Delta Farms project was never completed, that part was completed, cultivated and later flooded and that part is now in use.

makes for a rather poorly balanced soil. Certain toxic conditions have developed in the soil of some of the reclaimed areas. The nature of these is not fully known. Like other organic soils the marshland soils are subject to burning. Considerable areas of reclaimed land have been damaged in this fashion. So probable is burning that weeds cannot be burned from the newly reclaimed land except when it is wet.

In the discussions of individual projects further mention will be made of the soil management and agronomic experience gained in reclaiming and farming the marsh and swamp lands of southern Louisiana.

History of Marshland Reclamations in the Delta of Louisiana

Most popular and many scientific writers assume that the reclamation of the marshlands of southern Louisiana began about forty years ago. The year 1907 is the most frequently mentioned date. Such generally well-informed writers as J. O. Wright, A. M. Shaw, and Charles W. Okey stress this date and the work which followed. Okey went so far as to say: "Previous to 1907 there had been no active movement in the drainage of the wet prairie lands of Louisiana."26 Without diminishing the significance of the work done in the last forty years and particularly that done between 1907 and 1915 by enterprising immigrant capitalists from the Northern States, it should be made clear that marshland reclamation in southern Louisiana is a very old idea and that considerable experience had been gained in Louisiana in this specialized work before 1900 and even before the Civil War. In fact, the enthusiasm for Louisiana marshland reclamation which developed during the first decade of the twentieth century came as a climax to a century of reflection, writing, and experimentation in Louisiana on this important subject, although at the time of the greatest enthusiasm (1907-15) the developments were commonly thought to be original and revolutionary. Three periods in the historical sequence of drainage reclamation in the marsh and swamp lands of southern Louisiana will be briefly mentioned—namely, the pre-Civil War period, the period from the Civil War to 1900, and the period from 1900 to 1925. Following this some data concerning the current status of marshland projects will be presented with comments on probable future work.

³⁶ Charles W. Okey, Wet Lands of Southern Louisiana and Their Drainage, op. cit., p. 22.

Reclamation of Louisiana Coastal Swamps Before the Civil War

The earliest records of the French settlements in Louisiana, many of them now preserved in the National Archives of France, are in a very practical sense records of a great land reclamation project.27 The early manuscripts contain a wealth of detail on matters relating to floods and the need for levees; precipitation and the need for artificial drains; tidal action and the need for a seawall; low elevation and the need for mechanical (or pump) drainage.28 From the time of the first settlements to the opening of the Civil War a steady procession of travelers visited the valley of the Mississippi and particularly New Orleans and returned home to write of their journey.29 Most of these travelers had something to say about land reclamation and frequently about the need for pumping the marshlands free of water and thereby reclaiming them for cane or other crops. Many of the wealthy planters did reclaim small areas by the use of water wheels. Back levees were built to keep out the river or tidal overflow and crude pumps installed to lift the drainage water over the levee. In general these levees and pumps were not unlike their modern counterparts found on many sugar plantations along Bayous Teche and Lafourche and the Mississippi River.

Though travelers, planters, and engineers indulged in much speculation on methods for reclaiming the swamps and in some experimentation, little was accomplished in the true marsh areas. The flood-control plans were so inadequate that it proved difficult enough to protect the highest agricultural lands and the city itself, to say nothing of the low-lying marshes and swamps. It was generally conceded that the marshes would have to await adequate flood protection before any development could be prac-

²⁷ Among the archives of the Department de la Marine et des Colonies at Paris are eight large folio volumes relating to the French possessions in Louisiana. In 1841, E. J. Forstall of New Orleans visited Paris and made a synopsis of the main matters discussed in these volumes. Some of his findings were conveyed to the Governor of Louisiana, A. B. Roman, and later published in DeBow's Review of March 1846. This correspondence is sufficient to reveal the great interest which the French governors and land settlers took in matters of land development. While the details of the early experiments cannot be given here, enough is known to say definitely that the first colonists explored the river and its charactristics sufficiently to develop in a general fashion theories which have only recently been proved under controlled or experimental conditions.

²⁸ Students interested in the detail of early French orders and regulations concerning land and reclamation problems will be interested in the fragment of a manuscript, Order Issued by His Majesty the King of France in Regard to Concessions in Louisiana, dated August 10, 1728. Library of the Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans, Class 76.3111, 336.13.

³⁹ See: Roger Wallace Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939), pp. 351- 352, for a list of the best accounts of early travels in Louisiana. The works listed here are indispensable to students of the early history of land reclamation in Louisiana.

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tical. Accordingly, reclamation interests turned their major efforts to obtaining flood protection, a task which occupied them almost exclusively for 150 years.

While engineering skill was largely turned to flood control,³⁰ experimentation with various drainage works continued. The Board of State Engineers maintained an active interest in all types of drainage works and even before the days of the Federal Swamp Land Acts (1849-50) various proposals for draining the swamps were made. Furthermore, the experience of State engineers and planters with levee building, flood gates, syphons, etc., formed a background of accumulated knowledge indispensable in later reclamation work.³¹

One of the most interesting of the early reports concerning the best manner for reclaiming swamp and marshlands of the State is that proposed by Lewis G. DeRussy and presented in a Special Report Relative to the Cost of Draining the Swamp Lands Bordering on Lake Pontchartrain, (Board of State Engineers, Baton Rouge, February, 1858). This imaginative engineer was employed by the State to survey the lands between the upper line of the town of Carrollton and the lower line of the parish of Orleans and to suggest a plan whereby they might be drained.³² The Legislature, in providing for the survey, clearly desired a plan which would be immediately productive. To reclaim this particular land in a short period would require the establishment of pumping plants and the building of levees to keep water out of the project. Knowing the great cost of pumps and the frequency with which pumping projects had met financial disaster, DeRussy ventured to present two plans to the Legislature—a convenient

³⁰ During the 1840's and 1850's, while flood control was being pushed, politicians and planters alike were ever mindful of the part flood control played in the land reclamation program to follow. In a Report on the Internal Improvements of Louisiana (Baton Rouge, 1850), W. A. Wooldridge, State Engineer, said: "After the floods of our great rivers are confined to their channels, the drainage of the swamp lands will be easily accomplished. . . The discoveries of modern agriculture have shown that many of those lands which were formerly regarded as sufficiently dry, can be rendered far more prolific by increased drainage. The extent to which this has been carried is one of the most striking characteristics of modern agricultural labor. Hence, it is reasonable to expect that after all our general improvements there will still be demand for more minute operations; but these will naturally devolve on individual proprietors. The drainage machine will doubtless stand by the sugar mill in most cultivated State of Louisiana." (P. 16.)

³¹ The Louisiana Board of State Engineers developed at an early date an interest in detailed engineering data concerning water problems. In their biennial report published in 1846, they stressed the "... importance and necessity of a complete survey of the Mississippi River from the Gulf of Mexico to the mouth of the Ohio." It was proposed that, "This survey, commencing at the Balize, should be made with the utmost accuracy; at every five miles a cross section of the river should be taken."

³² Unfortunately the map which accompanied this study cannot be located, and therefore certain details must remain obscure. Sufficient is known, however, to give a general idea of the drainage plan.

design for levees and pumping plants and an alternative, longterm plan involving a series of settling basins, or, in the original language, a "system of colnates" for collecting river silt and therein gradually raising the land level by sedimentation, thus working a permanent reclamation. In commenting on his plan for establishing a "system of colnates", DeRussy said:

The system referred to requires three necessary means to be present. 1st. There must be current water charged with alluvium, susceptible of being directed upon the land to be improved. 2nd. The land must be upon lower level than the passing waters; and 3rd. There must be a declivity from the surface of the flooded land by which to drain off the water when it has deposited its sediment by repose. These difficulties are all present in any part of the country proposed for the experiment, for although the swamp district in the rear of the city can be considered in no other light in reference to drainage, than merely a dead level, we still have the declivity of more than 8 feet from the river edge to the lake, and if we imagine levees, running back from the ridge toward the lake, with cross levees along the lake shore meeting these and closing them, then let us imagine also suitable conduits (either by canals with locks above ground or feeding pipes underground) to receive water into these leveed squares, and also proper outlet gates to let water off toward the Lake when it has become clarified, we have at once the idea of the proposed experiment. The process of filling and emptying these squares would of course be continued so long as the river stage would permit. By this means, and judging from the quantity of solid matter carried along by the current of the Mississippi, we are much inclined to believe that the filling and raising of the swampland would be much sooner obtained than it has been estimated, and it would, when finished, certainly leave the improved district in much better condition for habitation and cultivation than its original low level and necessity of permanent artificial drainage could place it.

As the author realized, the long-term nature and inherent uncertainties of this plan made it unattractive to the Legislature. Accordingly, he devoted the bulk of his time to plans for five pumping plants with accompanying levee and internal drainage systems which he thought would do the job of reclamation and make more land available at an early date for the growing city. Something over one million dollars was estimated as the cost of this series of five drainage systems. The Civil War prevented

the carrying out of the plans, but later the drainage plans of the city of New Orleans were extended to this area and basically similar plans were devised and carried out.

Both of DeRussy's plans hold considerable interest for present-day students. His designs for levees and drains, while by no means original, stimulated much thinking and later served as an example for marshland reclamation efforts. His plan for using the silt load of the Mississippi River in a land development program was doubtless impractical in detail but had much to recommend it in essence. Many modern students of the flood-control problem and of its soil conservation aspects are acutely conscious of the great waste of soil and plant nutrients involved in dumping into the Gulf the great soil load gathered by the Mississippi River from its huge drainage basins. This waste of valuable resource may one day be saved through a large-scale program of planned siltation basicaly much like the experiments DeRussy suggested.

During the decade before the Civil War, the flood-control program on the Mississippi had apparently reached, in the minds of Louisiana people, such a degree of safety that some hope could be held for attempts to reclaim the marshlands. Some of the larger planters were optimistic and pushed their clearings into the swamps and marshlands. New Orleans extended the area under pump and laid elaborate plans for enlarging the adjoining potential residential areas. Contractors and engineers did a thriving business and DeBow saw a great future in the undeveloped wilds at the doorstep of New Orleans.

As early as 1846 swamp and marsh areas in Orleans Parish were dyked and the drainage water was pumped. The yield of Sea Island cotton planted on these reclaimed lands was said to be "unequaled, and the staple unsurpassed." In 1858, Alexander W. Weems, of Orleans Parish, "raised on dykeland 100 bags of cotton, averaging 250 pounds, the work of 13 hands, two of them quite old, and continued with like success until stopped by the war." Weems further explained that he had not planted cotton since the war as his buildings and fences were destroyed and labor was scarce and unreliable.

Other parishes had similar marshland and swampland reclamation projects, but the Civil War shattered the plans of land

³³ It is interesting to note that during slavery times, productivity was often measured in terms of hands, rather than acres, etc.

³⁴ D. M. Nesbit, Tide Marshes of the United States, op. cit., p. 182.

developers. Projects were completely abandoned. The main line levees began to deteriorate and in places were washd away entirely or destroyed by military means. For many years reclamation was at a standstill.

Marshland Reclamation from the Civil War to 1900

During the period of Reconstruction little work was done in reclaiming the swamps and marshes. The levees had to be repaired before any thought could be given to the lowlands. Rebuilding of levees was to take many years.

However, in the 1870's and 1880's interest in land reclamation began to be revived and some marshland drainage programs were started in southern Louisiana. Throughout the United States this was a period of experimentation in developing new lands. Irrigation works were being expanded in the arid regions and the way was paved for the large-scale Government participation in irrigation reclamation which came soon after 1900. In the East and South, swamp and marshland drainage projects were being started in nearly every State. Improved machinery, frequently powered by steam, was becoming available for the heavy work of leveeing and ditching. Many ideas were imported from England, Germany, and Holland where reclamation of swamp and marsh was being carried out on a large scale. The reclamation work in the Zuider Zee was particularly well known in America.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture lent its support to these early efforts at land reclamation. In 1885 a study by D. M. Nesbit, entitled *Tide Marshes of the United States*, was published as Miscellaneous Special Report No. 7. Other more specialized reports followed. Most of them stressed, as did Nesbit's report, "that the day of unlimited cheap land is passing." Increasing land values were thought indicative of a land shortage. Reclamation work was hailed as an important and noble contribution to the greatness of the Nation. Many of the Government reports were popular bulletins designed to show that reclamation work could be done—and done profitably. Optimists were plentiful, although the failure of reclamation projects was a common occurrence.

While the land reclamations in Louisiana during this period were not so numerous or spectacular as those attempted along the Atlantic Coast, considerable capital was invested in experiments for reclaiming swamps and marshlands. In 1878 the Louisiana Legislature chartered the Louisiana Land Reclamation Company, a private corporation, which reclaimed 13,000 acres in the coastal area of Terrebonne Parish. The tract of the Louisiana Land Company was developed through the use of a comprehensive system of canals and levees. Steam dredges were used. Later the land was broken by cable plows operated by the engines of the two steam dredging machines which floated in canals at opposite sides of the fields.³⁵ The company grew rice, jute, and various vegetable crops. The rice was very successful, the yields being greater than those reported in the South Carolina area. Nesbit reports that the jute grew 6 feet in 5 weeks on the reclaimed land.

Very little is known of the later history of this project and the other activities of the company in southwestern Louisiana. Shortly after the project was started, some of the principal shareholders died and the company became involved in financial difficulties. The project was abandoned, after being flooded by waters from the Mississippi River pouring through a crevasse in Pointe Coupée Parish.³⁶ Later, in 1883, a tract of 1,300 acres was developed in the area but this project too was destroyed by the great flood of 1884, which swept away the levees. Projects so near the coast as this one were seldom attempted in later years.

Besides the reclamation in Terrebonne Parish, some planters in St. Mary Parish were interested in reclaiming land. On a substantial number of plantations the Elba drainage wheel or other similar devices discharged drainage water over back levees. True marshland reclamations were rare. The danger of flood prevented capitalists from undertaking such projects. "The flood wave of 1883, from the Mississippi River, rising 11½ feet above the level of lowest cultivated land on the east bank of Bayou Teche, poured into this bayou and over its high west bank, through much of its extent, covering cultivated lands as much as 9 feet in the lowest portions." ³⁷

In 1886 the Louisville and Nashville Railroad issued a pamphlet, entitled *The Reclamation of the Marshlands on the Louisville and Nashville Rail Road*, which described the plans of the American Land Company for developing a vast tract of marsh-

³⁸ Ibid., p. 181.

³⁶ See letter dated August 30, 1884, from the President of the Louisiana Land Reclamation Company to Hon. E. A. Carmar, Acting Commissioner of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
³⁷ Statement of W. J. Tompson in The Tide Marshes of the United States (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Miscellaneous Special Report No. 7, Washington, D. C., 14.

land 20 miles from New Orleans. This tract, some 50 square miles, was bounded by Chef Menteur, Rigolets, Lake Pontchartrain, and Lake Borgne. It was declared that these lands were "absolutely free from all danger of fresh water or river overflow."

The bulletin cited above stated:

As a summary of the advantages belonging to the enterprise of reclaiming and settling these lands, we have then: a large, conveniently shaped body of land containing, exclusive of coast line outside of embankment, waterways and reservoir, over 26,000 acres, capable of convenient subdivision into from 250 to 500 productive farms, all absolutely free from overflow; only 25 miles from the City of New Orleans; surrounded by immense bodies of salt water which contain the finest fishing and oyster grounds in the world; perfectly healthy, fanned by sea breezes; a climate in which the thermometer rarely reaches the freezing point, and in which a rotation of paying crops can be grown, and cattle pastured on green grass all the year round; traversed through its center by a great railway leading directly to all the best markets of the country, with inexhaustible springs of pure water (from shallow artesian wells) easily obtainable; and a soil which challenges the world for richness and fertility, etc. . . . And this princely estate, comprising 50 square miles, can be safely and permanently reclaimed and drained ready for cultivation by the expenditure of less than \$251,000, an average of \$9.65 per acre, which covers the entire cost of an extra powerful embankment raised one foot higher than the highest recorded storm wave crest, and continued by strong dykes across every water course, together with the cost, completed and in working order, of all necessary draining machinery.

As an engineering task, the work is simple—there are no doubtful points-there will be no "unexpected difficulties," giving rise to increased expense, all possible contingencies have been provided for in the careful estimate of the skilled engineers, whose report is attached hereto; and it is difficult to conjecture any possibility that can arise to change it, except, as he suggests, to decrease the cost by more favorable localities for dykes, etc., which may result from more accurate survey. This estimate covers every possible expenditureincluding the erection of powerful pumping machinerythat will be necessary to permanently reclaim and drain the entire property. It is, therefore, no experiment—there is no danger of loss, no chance of failure. It is merely a matter of the simplest engineering skill, and the investment of a comparatively insignificant sum of money to secure the accomplishment of an enormously profitable result.



All the river and bayou lands are subject to the fatal objection of disastrous overflow, and most of them, as well as the larger portions of the uplands, are as far—if not farther—in time of transportation from New Orleans as these lands are from Louisville and Cincinnati.

When we realize what has been accomplished with the most perfect and permanent success in the diking of lands elsewhere against ocean storms and tides, having a daily oscillation of forty-five feet (in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), the Holland dikes against storm tides of twenty-five feet, the Bedford Level on the coast of England, over three hundred thousand acres reclaimed from the sea and successfully held for centuries against tides of from six feet to twenty-two feet, and many thousand acres on the coast of California, Washington Territory, New Jersey, Delaware, and other States in this country, where the daily oscillation of the ordinary tides is greater than any storm tides to which these lands have ever been subjected; and when we consider that the material of which our embankments are to be constructed is, by the unanimous testimony of all dike engineers, pronounced "the best known for the purpose," and that, in addition, the comparative interior situation of these lands protects them to a very large extent from the violence of storms raging on the immediate shores of the Gulf and that within the past heights of six feet above the ordinary height has been experienced—it will, no doubt, be conceded, that with proper skill and care, these lands can be rendered permanently secure against the short-lived fury of the most severe storm.38

These ambitious plans did not materialize, but this statement of the supposed possibilities to be gained by marshland reclamation foreshadows scores of similar reports issued shortly after the turn of the century.

In the coastal prairies of southwestern Louisiana some experiments in reclaiming the tidelands were made. Automatic floodgates, wind pumps, and other devices were used. For a time success seemed assured, but Gulf storms soon washed high waves into the leveed projects and they were abandoned.

During the period from the Civil War to 1900 many of the attempts at reclamation were tideland projects.³⁹ Their proximity to the coast made them very vulnerable to storms. The wave of reclamation which came after 1900 centered farther inland on

³⁸ Pages 9-11.

³⁰ Cf. Thomas H. Means, Reclamation of Salt Marsh Lands (U. S. Dept. of Agr., Bureau of Soils, Circular No. 8, revised, Oct. 1903).

marshes not quite so vulnerable to Gulf winds and high tides. Many of the techniques developed in the tideland projects were, however, later carried out in the more inland swamp and marshland reclamations which began in Louisiana about 1900.

Marshland Reclamation After 1900 in the Delta of the Mississippi River

The years from 1900 to 1920 saw the development of an immense drainage program in the Alluvial Valley of the Missisisppi River. Throughout the Valley hundreds of drainage districts were organized under newly-enacted State laws, issued bonds, levied taxes on the land, and contracted for the building of drainage systems. Some of these plans, like those of the Little River Drainage District in Missouri and the Cypress Creek Drainage District in southeastern Arkansas, were elaborate and costly; but the majority were relatively small undertakings, both as to engineering and as to financing. The great majority of the drainage districts were based upon gravity flow of drainage waters with the exception of those in the swamp and marsh areas of Louisiana and a few in the river bottoms of the upper Mississippi and tributary streams.⁴⁰

The complex social and economic conditions which led to the vast reclamation program begun about 1900 in the Alluvial Valley of the Mississippi cannot be analyzed here in detail. Briefly, these reclamations were a logical sequence of vast lumbering activities and complex flood-control improvements sponsored by the Federal Government. The rising land values and general prosperity prevailing at the opening of the century also favored expansion of the land base.

While the marshland pump reclamation projects were organized simultaneously with the more common gravity drainage projects of the areas with higher elevation, they constituted, as pointed out in the introduction, a distinct aspect of the general drainage movement. For the most part the marshlands were reclaimed by individuals and companies who desired to sell the reclaimed land immediately to agricultural settlers, particularly to immigrants from the Lake States and the Corn Belt and even from Europe. The gravity drainage districts, on the other hand,

⁴⁰ For a description of typical pump drainage reclamation projects in the river bottom areas of the upper Mississippi and tributary streams see: John G. Sutton, *Design and Operation of Drainage Pumping Plants in the Upper Mississippi Valley* (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Technical Bulletin No. 390, November 1938).

were for the most part, and this is particularly true in Louisiana, developed by farmers who wished to improve their own holdings. In Arkansas, Mississippi, and Missouri some gravity drainage enterprises were organized with the aim of developing land which could be sold in small tracts to prospective farmers, but most of the four or five hundred gravity drainage districts in the Mississippi Valley were organized to improve the lands for the holders.41

New attempts at developing the swamp and marshlands of Louisiana were started in a quiet and more or less experimental way by capitalist land promoters about 1900. By 1908 or 1909 these developers were ready to launch their plans on a major scale. Companies for land development and settlement promotion were rapidly organized. By 1915 some major reclamations had been attempted, and colonies of immigrants settled on the marshes where about 125,000 acres of land were under pump.42 Before the devolpment had run its course, it is estimated that some 240,000 acres had been brought under pump drainage. 43 Figure 3 shows the location of the principal projects started in the marshlands.

Leading Figures in the Marshland Drainage Movement, 1900-1925

The development of marshland reclamation projects which took place after 1900 in Louisiana was to a large degree inspired and carried out by Edward Wisner and his associates in the Louisiana Meadows Company and affiliated organizations. Mr. Wisner, a Michigan man, came to Louisiana to rest from an illness. He became interested in the marshlands, which he believed could be

⁴¹ Separate chapters of the study, Land Development and Settlement in the Alluvial Valley of the Lower Mississippi River, will present drainage data for those parts of the alluvial valley in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Missouri. One of the proposed chapters is already completed in preliminary manuscript form, entitled "Drainage Reclamation in the Arkansas-Red Rivers Segment of the Lower Mississippi Valley" (U. S. Dept. of Agr., Little Rock, Arkansas, 1946).

Even where gravity drainage districts were developed with the idea of subdividing and selling the land (as was the case in certain drainage districts sponsored by lumber companies), the methods and results of these efforts sharply distinguish them from the history of pump reclamation in the Louisiana marshes and therefore justify separate treatment of marshland projects. Of. Roger D. Marsden and R. P. Teele, Economic Status of Drainage Districts in the South in 1926 (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Technical Bulletin No. 194, 1930), 35. In part the authors say: "In Southern Louisians, however, the most profitable sale of land was the principal object of the persons promoting most of the drainage districts. Sales methods were designed to serve early return of the capital invested and a large profit thereon, rather than permanent development of the area. So the lands were sold to all persons who would buy. Large tracts were sold to other speculators, who expected to resell promptly, and in small tracts, not only to farmers but also to many more city dwellers inexperienced as farmers and not qualified to become settlers."

42 Charles W. Okey, "Run-off from the Drained Prairie Lands of Southern Louisiana."

⁴² Charles W. Okey, "Run-off from the Drained Prairie Lands of Southern Louisiana," Journal of Agricultural Research (Washington, D. C.), Vol. XI, No. 6 (1917), p. 247.

⁴³ Estimates of the acreage under pump at any one time are difficult to determine, due to the failure of some important projects and the introduction of new ventures. See S. M. Woodward, Land Drainage by Means of Pumps (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Bulletin No. 304), 6.

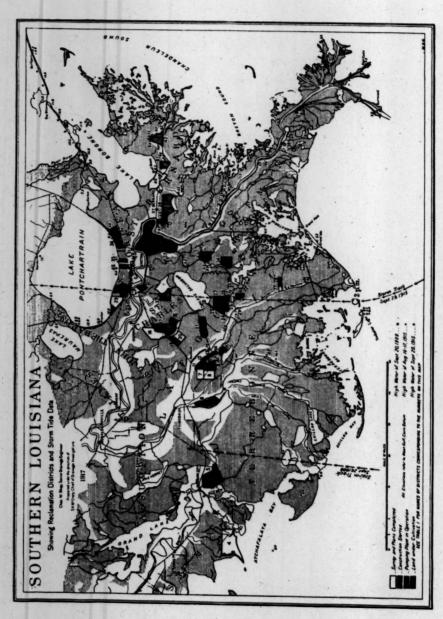


Figure 3. Location of Marshland Reclamation Projects (Courtesy United States Department of Agriculture.)

developed by appropriate engineering plans. He began to buy marshlands and swamplands at the levee board sales, paying $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents an acre for most of them. In a quiet manner, Wisner bought up vast acreages of swamp and marshland. At one time he held almost 1,500,000 acres of this type of land. The local people who knew of his desire to reclaim the marshlands for agriculture recalled the former failures in this field and thought Wisner lacking in business judgment, or at least ill-advised.

The first of the Wisner reclamation projects was at La-Branche, on the Illinois Central Railroad about 15 miles north-west of New Orleans. The cypress swamp was cleared and leveed, and a pumping plant was installed. Corn and various vegetable crops were grown and the project became the center of reclamation interests. Its good location and the excellent yields of crops soon convinced many prospective investors that lands of this type were valuable and bids of \$200 to \$300 an acre were not uncommon.

The Louisiana Meadows Company grew rapidly and subsidiary companies were formed. The Suburban Realty Company, Ltd., was organized to handle the developments in St. Charles Parish around LaBranche. The Truck Farm Land Company, Ltd., developed the Wisner holding near Paradis. The Terrebonne Land Company, Ltd., worked in the Raceland area. The Louisiana Meadows Company supplied the general promotion and sales services for the affiliated companies. Associated with Mr. Wisner in the Louisiana Meadows Company were A. D. Dusenburg and A. G. Groves. These men were key figures in the reclamation of Louisiana marshlands between 1900 and 1925.

The companies mentioned above were interested in developing large tracts of marshland and subdividing them for sale as small farms. They were also interested in getting other capitalists to invest in the marshlands which they held. Toward this end, publicity offices were opened in Chicago and other Northern cities. Much literature describing the company developments was distributed. In the New Orleans office a staff of engineers, draftsmen, etc., was installed to work out plans not only for the development of the land but for planning the houses and villages which would be built on the reclaimed land. The efforts of these

⁴⁴ The levee boards received these lands from the State, which, in turn, had received them from the Federal Government under the Swamp Land Act of 1849.

TABLE Summary of natural conditions and drainage features

Area No.	District	Parish	Town	Area	Orig- inal depth of muck	Eleva- tion above mean Gulf	Height of storm tide	Height of levees	in la
3	Gueydon drainage district, subdistricts Nos. 1 and 2	Vermilion	Florence	Acres 7,400	Feet 0- 3	Feet 1-3	Feet	Feet 5	1
3									
5	Avoca drainage district	St. Mary	Morgan City	15,600	0-3	1-7	5	6	1
6	Upper Terrebonne drainage district	Terrebonne	Houma	4,240	1- 5	3-7	0	3	
9	Lafourche drainage district No. 12, subdistrict No. 4	Lafourche	Raceland	4,240	0-4	3-7	. 0	5	1
10	Lafourche drainage district No. 12, subdistrict No. 3	do	do	2,250	1-3	0-3	0	5	1
11	Lafourche drainage district No. 12, subdistrict No. 1		do	835	0- 2	0-3	0	5	
12	Lafourche drainage district No. 12, subdistrict No. 2		do	940	1- 2	0-3	0	. 5	
14	Smithport Plantation			647	0-2	2-2	0	4	
15	Lafourche drainage district No. 13, subdistrict No. 1			2,000	0-2	0-4	0	4	1
17	St. Charles municipal drainage district No. 1			9,860	0-3	1-3	0	5	1
18	St. Charles drainage district No. 1	do	do	2,840	0- 2	0-3	0	4	1
19	Lafourche drainage district No. 6, subdistrict No. 1			1,880	0-2	0-2	0	3	1
23	Delta Farms drainage district No. 4	do	Larose	2,560	2- 3	0-2	3	5	1
24	Delta Farms drainage district No. 1	do	do	640	2-3	0-2	3	5	-
25	Delta Farms drainage district No. 2	do	do	2,720	2- 3	0-2	3	5	
26	Delta Farms drainage district No. 3			2,560	2-3	0-2	3	5	
28	Lafourche drainage district No. 9, subdistrict No. 1		Golden Meadow	1,780	0-2	0-2	5.5		
29	Ponchartrain drainage district, subdistrict No. 1		Labranche	700	0-2	0-3	12		
30	Kenner dramage district	Jefferson	Kenner	2,100	0-1	1-3	6	7	1
31	Willswood Plantation	do	Waggamon	2,600	0-4	2-9		. 8	1
32	New Orleans Netherlands Co. drainage district	St. Charles	New Orleans	2,120	1-3	1-3		4	1
33	Jefferson drainage district No. 3	Jefferson	Lafitte	5,000	0-4	1-3	3.0	5	
36	N. O. Lake Shore Land Co	Orleans	New Orleans	6,950	0-12	1-3	6.0	10	
37	Plaquemines-Jefferson drainage district	Plaquemines	}do	37,750	0-3	1-9	0	4	
38	Reclamation district No. 1	Plaquemines	Poydras	2,500	3-4	0-1	6.5	7	
42	Bayou Terre Aux Bœuf drainage district, subdistrict C	St. Bernard	Alluvial City	7,000	0-4	0-3	10.0	-	
43	Venice drainage district	Plaquemines	Venice	1,100	0-4	1-4	7.0		
	Tomos diamage district	1 inquemines	venice	1,100	0-3	1-3	1.0	5	14
44	Buras drainage district	do	Buras	2,358	0- 2	1.5-5	7.7	6	
45	Jefferson drainage district No. 4, subdistrict No. 4	Jefferson	New Orleans	1,800	0-12	0-2	6.0	6	
46	Lafourche drainage district No. 20, subdistrict No. 1	Lafourche	Cut Off	2,500	2-3				

Note: For location of districts see Figure 3.

ABLE I.
ures on thirty reclamation districts in southern Louisiana

ht es	Spacing of laterals	Reservoir capacity	Pumping capacity in 24 hours	Pumps	Engines	Boilers	Fuel	Work begun	Date of first pump- ing	Date of first culti- vation	Cultivated in 1916
t	Feet	Inches	Inches								Per cent.
5	330	0.88	1.23	2 54-inch centrifugal	2 Corliss	Return-tube	Oil Wood	1911 1911	1912	1912 1912	20
6	165	2.20	93	1 48-inch centrifugal	1 Lents		Oil		1913		30
3	165	.70	1.06	1 24-inch centrifugal 2 48-inch screw	1-horse-power oil-burning	}	Oil	1912	1916	1915	10
5	200	.81	1.69	2 48-inch centrifugal	2 120-horsepower oil-burning.		do	1913	1914	1915	2
5	200	.50	1.25	2 30-inch centrifugal	2 slide-valve	Return-tube	do	1908	1910	1910	100
5	200	.40	2.15	2 24-inch centrifugal	2 40-horsepower oil-burning		do	1907	1908	1909	100
5	200	. 67	1.91	2 24-inch centrifugal	2 50-horsepower oil-burning		do	1907	1908	1909	100
4	165	.50	1.50	2 Menge	2 slide-valve	Return-tube	do	1907	1908	1908	100
4	200		1.40	2 30-inch centrifugal	2 50-horsepower oil-burning		do	1914	1915	1909	30
5	200	.66	1.60	2 78-inch screw	2 piston-valve	Return-tube	Wood Oil	1911	1914	1916	*******
4	165	.50	1.42	2 36-inch centrifugal	2 slide-valve	do	do	1910	1911	1915	10
3	210	.34	.95	2 24-inch centrifugal	do	Marine	do	1910	1911	1912	55
5	.165	.66	1.58	2 36-inch centrifugal	do	Return-tube	Coal	1913	1914	1915	
5	165	.35	1.33	1 15-inch centrifugal	2 40-horsepower gasoline		Gas	1910	1911	1913	100
5	165	.66		1 36-inch centrifugal	1 slide-valve	Return-tube	Coal	1910	1911	1913	22
5	165	.66	1.58	2 36-inch centrifugal	2 slide-valve	do	do	1911	1913	1914	16
5		.42	1.01	2 24-inch centrifugal	2 50-horsepower oil-burning		Oil	1912	1915		
5			1.28	1 24-inch centrifugal	1 slide-valve	Return-tube	Coal	1913	1914	1914	50
7		1.17	1.35	2 30-inch centrifugal	2 slide-valve	do	Wood	1912	1914		
8	∫ 100	.42	1.60	∫1 rotary, 1 Menge	2 automatic	Water-tube	Oil	1896	1897	1897	100
	400	1		1 36-inch centrifugal	1 slide-valve	1			1 1 1 2 11		1 23
4	200	.63	1.75	1 24-inch centrifugal 2 30-inch centrifugal	3 50-horsepower oil-burning		do	1913			
5	220	.60	1.44	2 48-inch centrifugal	2 Corliss	Return-tube	do	1911	1913	1914	15
10	165	.97	1.81	3 48-inch centrifugal	1 Corliss, 2 electric motors	Water-tube	Coal	{1908 1913	1908 1913	1909	85
4			1.04	1 48-inch and 4 76-inch centrifugal	5 Corliss, compound	do		1912	1915		. 20
7	165	.90	1.17	1 24-inch and 1 36-inch centrifugal	2 slide-valve	Return-tube	Coal	1910	1912	1912	30
6			1.03	2 48-inch centrifugal	2 Corlies			1913			
5	{ 100 200	.90	2.55	2 30-inch centrifugal	2 slide-valve	Return-tube	Coal	1914	1915	1915	20
6		1.00	1.38	1 48-inch screw	1 100-horsepower, 1 50-horse- power oil-burning	}	Oil	Under	contract		25
6		.28	1.56	2 30-inch screw	2 60-horsepower oil-burning		do	1915	1916		
7	165	.66	1.62	2 36-inch screw	2 120-horsepower oil-burning.		do	1916			

men and the capitalists which they attracted to the area started the marshland drainage movement in southern Louisiana. The railroads, the colleges of agriculture, the State Government, and the U. S. Department of Agriculture joined with these men in various ways and helped directly or indirectly to promote the projects.

Physical Characteristics of the Reclamation Projects

The plan developed by the Wisner companies for reclaiming swamp and marshland was not basically different from those tried during former years. The lands to be reclaimed were leveed, internal drains were constructed, and a pumping plant was installed at the lowest point on the project to discharge the drainage water over the project levee into adjacent canals or bayous where it found its way to the Gulf. The details of many of the



Figure 4. Sketch of the New Orleans Lake Shore Land Company project on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain. Insert shows layout at lakefront center of tract. See project No. 36, Figure 3. (Courtesy United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.)

projects are preserved in bulletins of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the files of various engineering societies. 45 Figure 4 shows the general plan of the New Orleans Lake Shore Land Company for developing a large tract on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain. On this project the main drainage canals have been constructed parallel to the lake shore, one-half mile back from the lake. This canal was 45 feet wide through its central portion and gradually narrowed to a width of 30 feet at each end. The average depth was about 8 feet. Laterals were one-half mile apart, and led from the rear of the property to the main canal. The laterals were 30 feet wide and 7 feet deep. Field laterals have been constructed along each of the division lines between the 5-acre lots (planned as citrus groves) into which the property was subdivided. A 60-foot wide trunk canal connected this drainage system with the powerful pumping system located on the lake shore. As will be noted on the sketch map, sites have been reserved for homes along the lake front and space for commercial property in the village or city at the lake front center of the tract. "The sale of lots of 5 acres have been made with the idea that they would be planted to citrus fruits, and usually one 5 acre lot to a purchaser. No provision has been made in these 5 acre tracts for a residence site, for the purchase of each lot carries with it the transfer of a 40 x 100 ft. villa site in the town reserve."46

While there was substantial variation in the project designs and great variation in size, all projects were similar to the design described above.⁴⁷ The levees varied in height from 2 to 8 feet, according to the location of the project and the expected height of the occasional storm tide. The construction work was done largely with steam-powered machinery, some of it designed especially for work in the marshlands. The material excavated from the canal was used in constructing the levees. The care exercised in building canals often determined the success of the

⁴⁵ See: Charles W. Okey, Wet Lands of Southern Louisiana and Their Drainage (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Technical Bulletin No. 71, April 30, 1914, and No. 652, June 1918); A. M. Shaw, "Louisiana Reclamation Project Grows to Seven Thousand Acres," Engineering News Record, Vol. 79, No. 13 (September 1917), p. 603; A. D. Morehouse, "Reclamation of Southern Louisiana Wet Prairie Lands," Scientific American Supplement No. 1843, Parts I and II (April and May 1911), pp. 268-270, 276-278; "Drainage Extends Suburban Area of New Orleans," Engineering News Record, Nol. 99, No. 13 (September 27, 1917), pp. 514-517.

⁴⁸ A. M. Shaw, "Louisiana Reclamation Project Grows to Seven Thousand Acres," Engineering News Record, Vol. 79, No. 13 (September 27, 1917), p. 604.

⁴⁷ Some of the reclamations provided for scattered rather than village type of settlement. Reclamation authorities of the period were not agreed on which was the more desirable type of settlement.

project. Frequently the base of the levee was not carefully prepared with the result that seepage water was appreciable and required excessive running of the pumping plants. The softness of the marsh required that the levees be added to as they settled. On some projects the levees were still settling badly after being repaired and built up to the desired height for 8 consective years. As water is against the outside of the levees for a considerable part of the year crayfish and muskrats frequently cause much damage by burrowing.

Canals and laterals, like the levees, are expensive to keep up. They usually require redredging 2 to 4 years after they are first cut. In the lower, softer parts of the marsh there is a tendency for fine mud or silt to seep into the canals as the water is lowered, resulting in need for redredging, which was frequently done with a hydraulic dredge operating an orange-peel-bucket. Clearing the ditches of the soft mud is a difficult and expensive operation. On many of the projects the ditches were not built properly. In some cases they were much too far apart; in others they were too deep, or not deep enough.⁴⁸

The pumping plants were the focal points of the projects. On some of the larger projects rather elaborate plants were installed. Centrifugal or screw pumps were used. On some projects a series of pumps was required; on others one pump was thought sufficient. In general the pumping plants were designed to remove 1 to 1.5 inches of water in 24 hours. All too often this was the maximum theoretical capacity of the plants and not the power achieved in actual operation. A number of projects were constructed with plants of only 0.50 inch per 24-hour capacity. These plants all proved grossly inadequate. In southern Louisiana a rainfall of 3 to 4 inches in a 24-hour period is not unusual and considerably heavier rainfalls have been recorded. Accordingly, on the few projects which remained in operation, additional pumping units were necessary.

In the discussion of selected individual projects the various physical factors will be described in more detail.

⁴⁸ Cf. A. M. Shaw, "Land Drainage in Louisiana," Engineering News, Vol. LXX, No. 7, pp. 300-303.

Settlement of the Marshland Reclamation Projects

The original settlers on most of the marshland reclamation projects were immigrants from the Northern States, principally Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin, who were attracted to these projects by the promotional literature of the development companies. Every device was used to attract settlers willing and able to pay high prices for the reclaimed land. Not only settlers were sought, but much of the early promotional literature was directed at capitalists who might be interested in purchasing and developing marshland. For a time both settlers and capitalists were attracted and came to Louisiana to seek homes or fortunes.

Railroads were active in promotion of the marshland projects. The Illinois Central and the Louisville and Nashville railroads were particularly active in land promotion. They offered special low fares on certain days to homeseekers and issued much promotional literature telling of the "wonderful possibilities and opportunities" of the marshlands. Large parties of prospective purchasers were brought to Louisiana by the railroads. Tours of the various reclamation projects were made and the soils and crops were inspected. Orders for lots and farms from 50 to 500 acres in size were taken. In some instances homes were constructed on the projects and citrus trees planted by the land companies. Prices ranged from \$150 to \$650 per acre, according to location and degree of development.

The Louisiana State Department of Agriculture and Immigration, long active in land promotions, took an active interest in promoting marshland development and sale. Harry D. Wilson, Commissioner of Agriculture, took parties of businessmen, newspaper editors, and prospective settlers to see the reclaimed lands. The State circulated thousands of copies of leaflets describing the "wonderful" climate of southern Louisiana and the fertility of the marshland soils. One of the most interesting of the small leaflets is entitled *Down to Brass Tacks*. In part, this leaflet

⁴⁹ See: J. F. Merry, Louisiana Reclaimed Lands Make Fertile Farms, "Information Concerning the Prairies, Marshes, and Cypress Swamps of Louisiana and How They Are Being Reclaimed," issued by the Passenger Department, Illinois Central Railroad Company, Manchester, Iowa, 1910. The Illinois Central Railroad actively promoted land settlement and issued many bulletins. Some of the more popular were: The Yazoo-Mississippi Valley; Tishimingo County, Mississippi; Tangipahoa Parish, Louisiana; and Madison County, Mississippi.

⁵⁰ This leaflet can be found under catalog number 976.3, 631.6399, Tulane University Library.

said: "If the Federal Government will get back of the project to reclaim the overflowed district of South Louisiana, that section could be made to rival Illinois and Iowa as a corn-producing section." This is a statement by Harry D. Wilson, Commissioner of Agriculture for Louisiana. The pamphlet is not dated but was probably released in 1910.

The excellent crops of corn that were harvested on the reclaimed lands appealed to the Corn Belt farmers and lands sold rapidly. Optimism was high. Land changed hands rapidly at increasing prices. Mr. Wisner, president of the Louisiana Meadows Company, felt that his hopes for developing the Louisiana marshes were well on the way to success. He said: "Judging from the progress that is being made in reclaiming land by the Louisiana Meadows Company and its branch concerns, and with the assistance of others interested in this matter, all the present swamp in Louisiana will be drained in a comparatively short time." Wisner was well satisfied with the type of settlers obtained for land which he was developing, particularly those near Raceland. "They appear to be anxious to build comfortable homes." They have abandoned the 'shack' and are building homes that are even more comfortable than a great many of the single and double cottages so common in the city."52

As new projects were developed, the advertising and other promotion to attract settlers became more intense. Religious groups were invited to form colonies and take over the projects, and some Amish farmers did settle for a time on one of the reclamations. Boxes filled with peat soil were shipped to almost every part of the country to show prospective settlers the character of the land. Bulletins of the U. S. Department of Agriculture were searched for passages that could be quoted to advantage. A good many suitable statements were found. Often very old bulletins were used. In one instance, a widely circulated pamphlet quoted a U. S. Department of Agriculture bulletin to the effect that the South was the best of the corn-producing regions, a yield of 237 bushels per acre having been obtained in South Carolina.⁵³

 ⁵¹ The Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior (established in 1902) was the most frequently mentioned Governmental agency thought capable of handling the job.
 52 Edward Wisner, "Reclaimed Lands Would Give Home Sites for 3,000,000, Assessments Would Jump 100 Percent," New Orleans Item, July 26, 1909.

⁵³ The bulletin was Corn Culture in the South, by S. M. Tracy, U. S. Dept. of Agr. Bulletin No. 81, (1898).

The bulletins of Charles W. Okey and J. O. Wright were widely quoted and in such a way as to make it seem that the U.S. Department of Agriculture endorsed the exaggerated statements contained in the promotional literature.54

As mentioned above, much of the settlement literature was designed to attract farmers from the Lake States and Corn Belt. The fact that corn was the principal crop grown on many of the reclaimed lands made them very appealing to grain and livestock farmers. Other crops, such as alfalfa and the clovers, were frequently mentioned in the literature, and the projects were always pictured as suitable for general livestock farming. Those located near New Orleans were frequently sold as truck or citrus farms. As many prejudices and notions concerning the South existed in the minds of Northern farmers concerning the hot summers and general unhealthful conditions of the South, much of the literature was designed to banish these ideas.55 Some typical paragraphs from the literature of the Louisiana Meadows Company follow:

This part of the State (the New Orleans area) has a seashore climate pleasanter by far than the Eastern seashore, for here all the breezes and winds in summer are from the salt Gulf.

The health of the people of the South is markedly better than that enjoyed by people in the North. The coastal plain of the Gulf of Mexico is much more healthful than the region of the Great Lakes because of the salt air of the Gulf and mild and regular climate which permits out-of-doors living in winter. This is why there is so little catarrh and pneumonia and why chills and fever are almost unknown and why malaria is reasonably rare.

If you have a family of small children, this is the climate in which you should raise them. A Chicago lady relates that of her family two children were born in Chicago and four in Louisiana; and that if she had half a dozen children she would rather raise them all here than two in Illinois; for the reason that they would have been less care and anxiety. Notice in the newspapers we send you the light mortality of children in Louisiana.

55 Walter M. Kollmorgen, University of Kansas, is preparing a study dealing with the various popular ideas once common in the North concerning farming in the South and the methods used by Southern land enterprises to combat these "false" impressions and attract

settlers.

⁵⁴ While the publications of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and of the State Experiment Station were frequently misused by land promoters, it is only fair to acknowledge that some of the Government and State publications were over enthusiastic concerning the ease with which the marshes of Louisiana and other States could be reclaimed. It is also true that in many instances the official literature reflected a lack of knowledge as to the general need for new land, and in general failed to report upon the more undesirable features of the reclamation promotions

Is it not better to live where the land does the work, or most of it and does it twelve months a year instead of four or five?

Investigate these statements in person—we guarantee their truthfulness.

Notice the Government map we print in this booklet. Does it not show why our lands are the richest in the United States? Now if we are telling the truth about the healthfulness of this locality, is this not the place to live and farm? [The map referred to was simply a sketch map of the Mississippi Valley showing the drainage basin which composes it.⁵⁶]

As the boom in marshland reclamation caught on, the swamps of southern Louisiana were alternately pictured as a second Corn Belt, as a first rate truck gardening area, as a new citrus belt, and as a Rice Bowl. For a time the Raceland prairies were heralded as the potential site of a new celery-producing area. Soil scientists frequently testified to the great productivity of the muck deposits and the wide variety of uses to which they could be put. S. H. Hoover, head of the Agricultural Department of the State Normal School at Warrensburg, Missouri, became one of the most enthusiatsic supporters. He went to Holland and returned with a belief that what had been done there could likewise be accomplished in Louisiana. John H. Kruse, a well-known engineer and geologist, made a study of the marshlands and predicted that they would become the site of the world's finest citrus groves. He felt that within 10 years (he wrote in 1908 or 1909) they would be selling for \$1,000 to \$2,500 per acre, depending on their location.57

Settlers came from all over the United States to buy marshlands. Before the movement had run its course, probably 12,000 to 15,000 persons had visited the projects and 4,000 to 5,000 had made investments, some as speculators, some as actual settlers.

During the past few years the tide of immigration had been turned toward the South. It is estimated that during 1908, 250,000 people from the North, East and West settled in the State of Texas. The whole South is feeling the benefit of this immigration. Louisiana will receive its part. Already

⁵⁶ The above paragraphs are from a booklet entitled Small Farms of Reclaimed Alluvial Louisiana Land, Vicinity of New Orleans, issued by Louisiana Meadows Company (not dated, but probably published about 1909 or 1910). As usual with such literature, many pictures of bulb fields in Holland were used as illustrations.

⁵⁷ See statements in *Reclamation of Alluvial Lands in Southern Louisiana*. Pamphlet copyrighted by G. H. McWilliams, Chicago, 1909, and distributed with the compliments of the Louisiana Meadows Company. (Tulane University Library.)

the development of the rice industry at Jennings and Crowley has converted a barren waste into populous and thrifty communities and it is estimated a quarter of a billion dollars has been added to the value of the land which only a decade ago was considered worthless. The area of wet prairie delta land in Southern Louisiana that will eventually be reclaimed covers approximately 3,000,0000 acres. Of this area nearly 500,000 acres [are] located conveniently near New Orleans, and possessed of excellent transportation facilities, that are ripe for reclamation at present [1909]. This whole area has an average present value of \$5 per acre, or a total of \$15,000,-000. The cost of reclamation (including the lowest coast lands) will average nearly \$20 per acre or \$60,000,000. The land reclaimed will readily bring an average of \$100 per acre, or a total of \$300,000,000, yielding a profit of \$225,000,000 over the cost of reclamation.58

Thus went the reasoning of the land developers. They were widely praised for their foresight and enterprise.

No more noble undertaking than that of marshland reclamation could be imagined than that which lies before the people of Louisiana, and the greatest credit is due to those who first exploited the idea of reclaiming the swamps. If monuments were erected to them in every town in the State, Louisiana would still owe them a debt; but they are modest people and are content to see, as monuments to their initiative and engineering skill, waving fields of crops, hundreds of carloads of agricultural products going to market, prosperous homes and farmers with swelling bank account, where formerly watery desert reigned supreme. ⁵⁹

Not only were settlers attracted but the original promoters were successful in finding other capitalists who were interested in starting reclamations. One of the most enthusiatsic of them was Frederick Scully of Lincoln, Illinois, who believed that if he could solve the problem of marshland reclamation he would make a valuable contribution to Southern agriculture. Mr. Scully, an Englishman, had studied the agriculture of many countries. The project which he organized is still being operated by his heirs and is known as "Clovelly Farms," at Cut-Off, Louisiana. For many years this farm was heavily subsidized while various methods of handling the soils were studied. Only in recent years has it been made to yield a return. Some of the experience gained on this reclamation is related below.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰ From the New Orleans Item, August 31, 1907.

Method of Financing Marshland Reclamation

Practically all marshland reclamation projects were organized as drainage districts under the State statutes. Once so organized, the elected drainage commissioners were empowered to issue bonds and use the fund for constructing drains and building levees. Land drainage taxes up to \$3.50 per acre per year could be assessed. 60

A common method for handling the financing was for the principal organizers of the district (who were also major landholders in the district) to buy the district bonds. As soon as the land was developed it was sold and the drainage taxes thereby shifted to the new owners. This financing worked well as long as the taxes were paid to retire the bonds, but when flood or depression cut off this reserve the projects soon failed. In other cases, the bondholders remained landholders and therefore heavy taxpayers, and borrowed heavily against the drainage bonds which they held on lands owned by them. This process led to the eventual ruin of many land devlopment companies.

Very little mention was made in the literature distributed to settlers concerning the organization and management of the drainage district which developed the lands they were buying. Once the lands were sold the responsibility for management of the system, including the elaborate pumping plants, fell on the commissioners elected by the newly-settled small farmers. In many cases these men did not comprehend the magnitude of the engineering task involved in keeping the levee, drains, and pumps in working order. A struggle frequently began between the bondholders (who were often the former developers) and the settlers to gain control of the project. Naturally the bondholders desired that the project be kept in good order lest the reclamation fail and the bonds be defaulted. Many of the settlers felt that the bondholders were forcing higher taxes than were needed. Controversies were prolonged and usually no satisfactory agreements were reached.

In 1906 the Louisiana State Legislature provided that the Board of State Engineers should make a survey of the proposed projects to determine the feasibility of the reclamation. In 1910 (Act No. 317) the Legislature strengthened this aspect of the

⁶⁰ In 1921 the drainage law governing pump-districts was modified to make possible tax levies based on assessment of benefits. Under this law the tax could exceed \$3.50 per acre and often did. However, most of the pump-districts were organized under the earlier laws.

drainage legislation and separated legislation dealing with gravity drainage from that dealing with pump drainage. In pump districts new emphasis was placed on the duty of the Board of State Engineers to make surveys and estimates of costs and to lay off lands and locate pumping plants.

The reclamation interests believed that these laws strengthened the position of reclamation bonds and considerable publicity was given the part that the Board of State Engineers was to play in making marsh reclamations sound developments, both in engineering and in financial aspects.⁶¹ A number of bulletins were written purporting to show the gilt-edged character of drainage bonds. Robert A. Milling, a New Orleans attorney, said in an address before the National Drainage Congress assembled in New Orleans in 1912, "I predict in 10 years that you will find no bond upon the market that will find a more ready sale that Louisiana reclamation bonds."⁶²

While sales agents for marshland companies and jobbers of reclamation bonds laid great stress on the part the State Board of Engineers played in making and approving the reclamation plans, in actual practice the Board of Engineers exerted little influence on the developments. In many instances they approved plans without even visiting the project and in no sense did they exert any judgment as to the desirability or feasibility of the reclamation. The Board of State Engineers was so understaffed that it simply could not carry out the law. In the Biennial Report of the Board for 1912 and 1914, the State Engineers commented on this lack of adequate check on reclamation projects: "In fact, the Board cannot really be said to have met the situation with anything like general satisfaction, because of the constant strain upon its forces and time by other imperative duties." Outside engineers were appointed to make whatever casual inspections were made. In the Biennial Report for 1916-18 the State Engineer said:

The Board of State Engineers, as a matter of fact, learns little or nothing about the practical success of the projects for drainage and reclamation presented to it for examination and approval. A project once leaving the Department, with the seal of approval, is lost sight of. In fact, no official evi-

 ⁶¹ For example, see news item in Outlook Magazine, Vol. 104, July 26, 1913, p. 645.
 62 Robert A. Milling, Drainage Laws of Louisiana, reprinted and issued in New Orleans with the compliments of the Louisiana Meadows Company.

dence of the progress or completion of the project either in accordance with the plans and specifications, approved or otherwise, is ever filed.⁶³

Under these conditions, drainage promoters were left free to devise almost any kind of project they desired. The failure of many projects was certainly due in large part to poor and inadequate plans. While many saw this weakness in the legislation, it was not until 1921 that more exacting legislation was passed governing the creation and management of reclamation projects. The Constitution of 1921 made special provision for the laws governing pump reclamation and a special session of the Legislature of that year enacted a "Leveed and Pumped Drainage District Law," providing for a "Plan of Reclamation" and an assessment of benefits, with court approval for both. This act was, of course, too late to have much influence on the wave of reclamation just described. It will be of great importance in directing future works in the marshes.

Present Status of Pump Reclamation Projects Begun 1900-1925

None of the pump reclamation projects established in the Delta of southern Louisiana has been entirely successful; most have been complete failures. Those reclamations in close proximity to New Orleans have in many cases managed to survive as residential and industrial sites rather than as purely agricultural projects. Several of the rural projects at first dependent entirely upon an agricultural base have been sustained in recent years by the sale of oil from the valuable deposits which underlie them. Clearly nonagricultural conditions have had much to do with keeping in operation the few remaining pump reclamation projects, though some minor successes with crop production on reclaimed marshland have been reported and are recorded below. Pump-Reclamation Projects in Suburban Areas of New Orleans

Typical of the numerous suburban land reclamations surrounding New Orleans is the 7,000-acre development on the southern shore of Lake Pontchartrain carried out by the New Orleans Lake Shore Land Company (project No. 36, figure 3); the 37,750-acre Plaquemines-Jefferson Drainage District (project No. 37,

63 Biennial Report of Board of State Engineers, 1916-18, p. 79.

⁶⁴ Act No. 85. See also the following amendments: Acts of 1924, No. 235; Acts of 1926, No. 272; Acts of 1928, No. 200; Acts of 1940, No. 228: Also see: Kenneth Wernimont, Digest of Louisiana Drainage Laws (Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Baton Rouge, La., 1941).

figure 3) on the southern bank of the Mississippi River in the vicinity of Gretna, Louisiana; and the Jefferson Drainage District No. 4 and related subdistricts (see project No. 45, for the location of sub-district 4; other adjacent subdistricts not shown). These and other similarly located districts were organized between 1907 and 1919 as sites for small farms. Plans for development of the New Orleans Lake Shore Land Company tract were discussed above (see figure 4).65 Some farms were developed on these projects but they did not for the most part long survive the high cost involved in farming the peat soils, including the cost of levee construction and repair and expenses connected with the pumping plant.

Considerable acreages of land in the suburban districts passed into the hands of speculators interested in holding it for future industrial or residential sites. These interests rather than agriculture sustained the projects after farming had more or less failed. The three suburban projects mentioned above passed through several periods of severe financial strain while operated chiefly as farming lands, with heavy losses to landholders and bondholders. Financial troubles have remained paramount and even with the rather high level of suburban development in the New Orleans area difficulty in meeting bond payments is common. Taxes have been high, reaching \$8.00 per acre per year in several instances. Large outstanding debts remain to be paid. The Plaquemines-Jefferson Drainage District, for example, has \$328,000 in outstanding bond obligations. This district, like several other districts near New Orleans, receives money from the city for repumping some of the drainage water pumped into its channels from the Algiers area.

While the Plaquemines-Jefferson Drainage District is of such size (37,750 acres) as to encompass considerable potential farm land, the agricultural development in the district has been most disappointing. Probably fewer than 8,000 acres are used for farming; the remainder is largely idle or waste land, according to local drainage officials. The drainage now effected in many parts of the district is not sufficient to make feasible the growing of intensive crops. The heavy torrential rains common in the area cannot with the present pump equipment be removed with the speed required to prevent damage to perishable vegetable crops.

⁶⁵ Charles W. Okey, Wet Lands of Southern Louisiana and Their Drainage (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Bulletin No. 652, 1918), 27.

Machinery of sufficient size to drain the area satisfactorily for intensive agriculture would probably be prohibitive in cost and at any rate cannot be seriously considered until the present heavy bonded debts are reduced.

The drainage developments in suburban districts offer little encouragement for undertaking further pump-drainage except in instances where intensive uses are assured. It is likely that these will be industrial in character.

Projects in the Vicinity of Paradis and Allemands, St. Charles and Lafourche Parishes, Louisiana

Of the several agricultural land (pump-drainage) reclamations started in St. Charles Parish in the early 1900's only one project remains in operation. This project, organized as St. Charles Municipal Drainage District No. 1, is now known as the Sunset Drainage District (and related subdistricts). Begun as a land settlement project for small, owner-operated farmers, this project is now owned and managed by a corporation. The land is farmed under various cash and share rental arrangements. No attempt is being made to sell the land, as its valuable oil deposits are being worked. It was probably the development of the oil deposits that saved the project from abandonment. From the beginning financial difficulties threatened to wreck agricultural development. Much capital was lost by both the settlers and the bondholders. Refinancing followed the flood of 1912 which completely overflowed the district. Throughout the history of the project taxes have been high. At the present time (1946) they range from \$2.30 to \$3.50 per acre annually.

There are nearly 10,000 acres in the Sunset Drainage District. A large central canal serves as a reservoir, collecting water from numerous field laterals. Two 72-inch Diesel driven pumps exhaust drainage waters from the project into Bayou Des Allemands. Fair drainage is maintained on the front of the project and along U. S. Highway No. 90 and Louisiana Highway No. 669. Only about 25 to 30 percent of the district is developed agriculturally. Many of the drains have been allowed to deteriorate badly. In the eastern and southern portions of the district the land is very low and poorly drained.

^{**} The Allemands (Louisiana) Quadrangle of the U.S. Geological Survey shows the canals and pumping plant of the Sunset District and the water-filled fields of the abandoned St. Charles Drainage District No. 1 and Lafourche Drainage District No. 6, subdistrict No. 1.

Some excellent vegetable and general crops have from time to time been produced on the project, but an intensive farming community (as was originally planned) has not developed, most of the land now being used for pasture and forage crops. Where vegetable crops have been produced, no satisfactory markets have been found. Subsistence farming conditions prevail for the most part among the tenants on this reclamation. A few rather successful small farms have been developed, but these are rare,

The original settlers on the Sunset Drainage District were farmers from the Corn Belt and Lake States, brought to Louisiana by land promoters. All of these immigrant farmers have been displaced. Native farmers, largely of French stock, now make up the bulk of the tenants. Some of the immigrants and their descendants live in the village of Paradis. They frequently speak of the bitter losses which they suffered in attempting to farm the reclaimed marshlands of southern Louisiana. They are inclined to blame the promoters who they think deceived them concerning the agricultural possibilities of the project.

South of the St. Charles Municipal Drainage District No. 1 (now Sunset Drainage District), is the abandoned St. Charles Drainage District No. 1. The sunken, water-filled fields of this 2,000-acre project are now maintained as lakes for duck hunting. This project never recovered from the flood of 1912, when the waters of the Mississippi covered the area.

A similar abandoned reclamation project is found near Allemands, Louisiana (Lafourche Parish). Formerly known as Lafourche Drainage District No. 6 (see project No. 19, figure 3), this 1,880-acre project is also the site of a hunting club.

Most local students attribute the failure of these two projects to their relatively small size. It is also known that the soil proved difficult to work and after several years of cultivation showed a high and increasing acidity. In the project at Allemands, Okey reported some peculiar seepage conditions, thus:

Water appeared in the interior of the district some 20 to 40 feet from the levee, and an examination showed that the subsoil of the impervious Sharkey Clay was filled with holes that varied in size from that of the usual crawfish hole, about 1 inch in diameter, up to several inches, the latter probably being muskrat holes. This was in a place where

the underlying subsoil was very solid. It will be necessary to cut a deep muck ditch along this levee and fill it with puddled earth.⁶⁷

No taxes were levied for this project (Lafourche Drainage District No. 6) after 1922. The \$56,000 in bonds issued in 1915 were delinquent until 1930 when they were bought up and cancelled by a landholder in the district. The hunting club near Allemands is owned in part by one of the original developers of the reclamation. No ownership record was obtained for St. Charles Drainage District No. 1, the other abandoned project in the immediate area. In quite a few instances the bondholders, engineers, contractors or landholders of bankrupt drainage districts have been able to salvage some of their investment by operating the flooded project as a hunting reserve. This is true of the Avoca Drainage District near Morgan City, discussed below.

Reclamation Work in the Vicinity of Raceland, Louisiana

Probably the most successful of the reclamations initiated by the Wisner interests were those at Raceland, Louisiana, now knows as Lafourche Drainage District No. 12 and related subdistricts 1, 2, 3, and 4.68 The four subdistricts operate as separate entities, each with its own levees, drains, and pumping plant. The total area reclaimed by this district is 8,265 acres, subdistricts 1, 2, 3, and 4 having the following respective acreage, 835, 940, 2,250 and 4,240. Subdistricts 1, 2, and 3 were started in 1907 and 1908. Work in subdistrict 4 did not start until 1913. The first and smaller subdistricts were sold in small tracts to immigrant farmers from the Corn Belt. Subdistrict 4 was not sold in this fashion but became the property of an engineering corporation which received it as part-payment for work done in this and the other

⁶⁷ Charles W. Okey, Wet Lands of Southern Louisiana and Their Drainage (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Bulletin No. 71, 1914), 43. Also see: Charles W. Okey, "Run-off from the Drained Prairie Lands of Southern Louisiana," Journal of Agricultural Research, Vol. XI, No. 6 (November 1917), pp. 259-260. Okey observes here that: "The pumping plant capacity under average conditions is about 0.75 inches per 24 hours." Doubtless this eventually proved inadequate, though no serious difficulties were encountered until 4 or 5 years after the project was started. As a larger proportion of the project was cleared it became apparent that the original pumping and ditch facilities were inadequate and that costly additions would have to be made if the project was to remain in operation. At the time repair and enlargement were needed, agricultural prices and prospects were not favorable and the project was abandoned.

es The Houma (Louisiana) Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological Survey shows the boundary, drains, and location of the pumping plants of Lafourche Drainage District No. 12 and subdistricts.

subdistricts. It is now operating as a private holding, somewhat along plantation lines, whereas the other districts are divided among numerous small holders.

Lafourche Drainage District No. 12 is located southwest of the village of Raceland in the typical prairie land of the Lafourche section. The land here has a natural slope to the south toward Lake Fields. The higher portions of the reclaimed area are 3 to 4 feet above the lake level, while the lower part is as low or lower than the lake. Before the drainage was installed, none of this land, according to Marsden, was used for agriculture. Though some of it was timbered, the larger part was marsh. 69

Crops produced on Lafourche Drainage District No. 12 during the initial years attracted considerable attention. Such specialized crops as celery were tried but were soon given up as they proved costly to produce and difficult to market. Corn was one of the first crops tried, and as it grew well on the muck soil it soon became the chief crop. The immigrant farmers were accustomed to a corn-livestock farming system and made every effort to develop this type of agriculture on the reclaimed marshlands. Unfortunately most of the farms were not large enough for this type of operation and financial failure soon followed from this and related causes.⁷⁰ The drainage taxes soon became delinquent, debts accumulated, and ruin seemed almost certain.

Drainage taxes of \$3.50 per acre are still being paid on subdistricts 1, 2, and 3. These three subdistricts have outstanding debts of \$8,900, \$12,000, and \$85,000 respectively. The liquidation of these debts will be a difficult task for the districts. For the most part the farmers on this district are discouraged with the prospects of agriculture on marsh soils which require pumpdrainage. They have not been able to work out an intensive farming system, which alone can support pump-drainage costs. In a few instances seed crops of various grasses have been produced with success and profit, but after forty years of trial and error corn remains the chief crop on most of the small farms.⁷¹

70 The original farms on Subdistricts 1, 2, and 3 probably averaged 40 acres each; specific data are not available.

^{**} Roger D. Marsden and R. P. Teele, Economic Status of Drainage Districts in the South in 1926 (U. S. Dept. of Agr. Technical Bulletin No. 194, 1930), 17-18.

⁷¹ Storage of corn in the humid climate of the marshes of Louisiana has presented many difficult problems. Similarly, potatoes are difficult to store and heavy losses have frequently resulted from inadequate storage facilities. The cost of satisfactory storage structures is more than small farms can support.

The soils of the Lafourche Drainage District No. 12 have been well suited to corn production. In the higher areas they contain considerable silt mixed with the muck and have not proved difficult to farm with ordinary equipment, particularly after the first few years of cultivation. In the lower-lying areas, however, special power machinery was required during the first years and it is now difficult to work the land without tractor power. This necessity defeated from the beginning many of the plans for small farms.

Only one family of the original immigrant settlers remains on the project. Most of them soon lost the money they invested in the land and returned to the States from which they had come, or they remained in Louisiana to become farm workers or ply trades in the nearby villages. As settlement projects, the reclamations near Raceland were complete failures.

Subdistrict 4 (4,240 acres) is now operated largely as a stock farm, beef cattle being the major cash enterprise. Some excellent pastures have been developed. It is only in recent years that this farm has been able to show a profit. Costly additions and repairs to the original pumping machinery have been made on numerous occasions. The dikes and drains have proved very expensive to maintain; unfortunately no detailed cost records could be obtained. In recent years oil deposits on the property have been exploited and these helped support the agricultural operations. It appears from a study of this district that even with skilled management and adequate capital it is difficult to develop a profitable type of farming in the reclaimed marshlands. Disregarding the capital invested, this district will probably be able to show some profit on its agricultural operation during years of high prices for agricultural products.⁷²

The financial history of the parent and four subdistricts is too involved to record here. A drainage maintenance association was organized in 1918 to finance rehabilitation work cooperatively in some of the subdistricts. Other financing devices were used, from time to time. Serious delinquencies in bond and interest payments have occurred. Only a detailed audit would reveal the financial history of these related districts.

⁷² Records of capital expenditures for Lafourche Drainage Distrcit No. 12, subdistrict 4, are not available. Marsden and Teele report that \$224,000 was the total original cost of the four subdistricts. Large additional expenditures have been made. Probably \$300,000 has been spent on Subdistrict 4 in addition to the original investment.

Some major repairs will soon be required in subdistricts 1, 2, and 3. Whether this new work will be financed through a bond issue or by other means is not yet known. There is so much resentment against the present high acreage drainage taxes that efforts to float a new bond issue to cover needed repairs may fail and the future of the district be placed in jeopardy. Some repairs are also needed in subdistrict 4.

A few miles south of Raceland, near the village of Lockport, a small (647 acres) reclamation locally known as Smithport Plantation (see project No. 14, figure 3) was begun in 1907 and brought under full cultivation by 1913. The reclaimed land here was typical of the open prairies which lie east of Bayou Lafourche. About one-half of the district, according to Okey, was originally covered with the water of Lake Fields to a depth of 1 to 3 feet. The humus or muck varied from 8 to 12 inches in depth, the greater depth being on the higher lands. Silt overlay a considerable portion of the muck in the higher area.

The reclamation plan for this project was quite comprehensive. Okey says:

The ditch system is very complete, and the small field ditches go entirely across the area directly into the reservoir canal which skirts one side. The reservoir capacity up to the end of 1912 was 0.42 inch of water, and that of the pumping plant 1.10 inches over the area drained. Thereafter the reservoir capacity was increased to 0.50 inch by further dredging. Except for a few short periods the entire area was well drained during the time covered by the record.⁷⁴

Despite elaborate plans, this small reclamation proved too expensive to operate and is now abandoned. Some observers noted a growing acidity in the soil after 6 or 7 years of cultivation. It is believed that this condition was not so serious here, however, as at Clovelly Farms, a pump-project farther south along Bayou Lafourche, at Cut-Off, Louisiana. The cost of pumping seepage water, which came through the front levee of the Smithport Plantation during high water, proved very expensive although the levee was improved several times. On several occasions tropical

74 Ibid., p. 249.

⁷⁸ Charles W. Okey, "Run-Off from the Drained Prairie Lands of Southern Louisiana," Journal of Agricultural Research, Vol. XI, No. 6 (1917), pp. 248-249.

⁷⁸ The Houma (Louisiana) Quadrangle of the U.S. Geological Survey shows the flooded fields of the Smithport Plantation.

storms damaged the project or hindered the proper operation of the pumping machinery, resulting in flooded fields. Such storms occurred in 1909 and 1913.

It is generally concluded among land developers familiar with southern Louisiana that pump-reclamations of this size cannot be economically operated, particularly when only general farm crops are produced. It should be noted that the Smithport Plantation was abandoned during the period of falling agricultural prices. Many of the reclamation projects were abandoned during the depression of the middle 1920's; low agricultural prices and high cost of operation combined to ruin them.

Immediately south of Smithport Plantation, Lafourche Drainage District No. 13, subdistrict No. 1 was established (see project No. 15, figure 3), to drain by pumps some 2,000 acres of marsh. About \$60,000 in bonds were issued and part of the system was constructed. The funds proved insufficient to complete the levees and drains and the project was abandoned. Failure to estimate accurately the original cost led to several other marsh reclamation failures in southern Louisiana.

Pump-Drainage Districts on the East Bank of Bayou Lafourche Below Lockport

Below Lockport on the east bank of Bayou Lafourche, two major reclamations have been established—Delta Farms and Clovelly Farms. A smaller project known as Lafourche Drainage District No. 9, subdistrict No. 1 was attempted near Golden Meadows but was never completed. About \$61,500 was spent before the job was given up. Even if completed it is doubtful whether in its exposed position it could have survived the heavy Gulf storms common in the area.

Reclamation enthusiasts frequently refer to Delta Farms and Clovelly Farms as successful attempts to reclaim the coastal marshland of Louisiana's Delta area. The experience gained on these two projects is probably the most extensive now available, as they have been in continuous operation for more than 30 years.

Delta Farms started out as a land-selling or settlement venture. Four separate drainage subdistricts were established from

⁷⁶ Traces of the major drains of this abandoned project are shown on the Houma (Louisiana) Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological Survey.

1911 to 1913, having areas ranging from about 600 to 3,000 acres. Houses were constructed and some farming was undertaken, but the smaller districts have been abandoned for many years. Only the larger districts (a little over 3,000 acres) near Bayou Lafourche are now operated, and as a private development. Figure 2 shows the abandoned drains of the subdistricts which were never completed and the sunken, water-filled fields which were cultivated for a time, then abandoned. Near some of these flooded fields a hunting club has been established.

The portion now in operation has changed hands several times and is now owned by a corporation (also interested in oil wells on the property) and operated as a stock farm. Few crops other than pastures are grown. From time to time considerable acreages of corn for feed have been produced.

The financial history of this district is not available. It is known that the farming operations have not sustained the project. Considerable capital investment is now needed to put the levee and drains in good repair.

Clovelly Farms (Subdistrict No. 1 of Lafourche Drainage District No. 20) was organized in 1916.77 It has from the beginning been operated as a private reclamation. About \$95,000 in bonds were issued in 1916, all held by the landowner. This project was developed by Frederick Scully, of Lincoln, Illinois, and is now owned by his heirs. Mr. Scully was much interested in land development programs. He had studied the agricultural reclamation of other countries and believed that if the marshlands of Louisiana could be reclaimed, the South would have a great new asset.

The site which Mr. Scully selected to develop is near Cut-Off, Louisiana. The project is a short distance from Bayou Lafourche on the east bank and drainage water is pumped into this stream. Before reclamation the land was all in marsh and now it lies about 3 feet under Gulf tide level. About 2,500 acres were reclaimed. Substantial levees, averaging 7 feet or more in height, and an elaborate system of internal drains and a reservoir canal leading to a large pumping plant make possible the cultivation of over 2,000 acres of intensive crops. The original pumping

⁷⁷ Project No. 46, Figure 3.

plant consisted of two 36-inch screw pumps and two 120-horsepower oil-burning engines. Five pumps are now available and other extensive improvements have been made.

Clovelly Farms has from its inception been heavily subsidized. The owners have probably spent over half a million dollars in experimenting with methods for reclaiming and farming the marshlands. The manager of Clovelly, Robert Morrison, has exercised great patience and skill in attempting to make this reclamation productive and profitable.

When the land at Clovelly was first drained, it proved very difficult to cultivate. Bog-shoes for the workstock and other special equipment were required. For the first 7 or 8 years the land was soft and difficult to work. Several seasons of unusually dry weather cracked the land, following which it changed into a firm soil which has since presented no special difficulties as far as cultivation is concerned. Cultivation is now done in the usual fashion with ordinary equipment.

In the sixth or seventh year of cultivation the soil began to show a high acidity which in a few years reached such a strength that crop production seemed almost impossible. The sulphates left by sea water were turning to acid as they decomposed. It should be remembered that Clovelly is farther south than any of the other reclamations (see project No. 46, figure 3) except Lafourche Drainage District No. 9, subdistrict No. 1 (see project No. 28, figure 3), which was never completed. From about 1925 to 1930 lime was applied to the land in an attempt to check the acidity. Only partial and temporary relief was obtained, and the heavy applications of lime decreased the availibility of the soil phosphates. Later calcareous sand was applied to the soil and mixed with it. Four inches of sand was applied, equivalent to 12 to 16 tons of lime per acre. This experiment proved very successful and the soil has gradually been restored to a productive state.

Potatoes, corn, cane, cotton and many vegetable crops are grown on Clovelly Farms. Unlike the other projects, pastures and livestock programs are not a major part of the farm program. The owners and managers here are interested in crop production and have developed many specialities, such as the growing of hybrid seed corn. These specialized crops and enterprises have

enabled them to put the project on a self-sustaining basis in recent years. It is, however, still difficult to keep the project out of the red. Much of the capital invested must be charged to experimentation.

The Scully reclamation was first organized and operated on a tenant system, contracts being drawn between local farmers and the reclamation owners. This plan failed. Low prices, physical production difficulties, and lack of familiarity on the part of the tenants (mostly local French stock) with basic conditions essential to successful landlord-tenant relations were the chief cause of this failure. Some 50 families now live on the project as laborers working under central management.

Experiments at Clovelly suggest that further attempts at reclamation of the coastal marshes of Louisiana should await careful analysis of soil characteristics and detailed planning of market outlets for highpriced specialty crops, which alone can support the cost of reclamation.

The difficulties experienced on this project are illustrative of the complex physical and social problems which confront marshland developers. The history of this project also gives an idea of the capital reserve required to keep in operation a pump-drainage project while various production and marketing problems are being worked out.

Other Reclamations (Abandoned)

One of the most elaborate pump-drainage reclamations undertaken in southern Louisiana after 1900 was known as Avoca Drainage District, near Morgan City (see project No. 5, figure 3). This district attempted to drain and reclaim Avoca Island by building a levee around the outer edge of the island and establishing three pumping plants to remove excess water falling within the levees.

The Louisiana State Board of Engineers' report for 1916-18 shows that the original plan was approved in 1911. Some 13,200 acres were to be reclaimed at an initial cost of \$300,000. Several years later the Board approved an increase of \$200,000 to cover the cost of reclaiming an additional 3,111 acres. About \$500,000 in bonds were issued. Records concerning the payment or cancellation of these bonds cannot be located. The Parish records are incomplete.

The 1927 flood seriously damaged the reclamation and it has not been operated since, though some of the pumping machinery was kept in fair repair for 10 years after the flood. The flooded fields of the the project are now the site of a popular hunting club owned in part by the original developers.

Another abandoned project, Upper Terrebonne Drainage District (see project No. 6, figure 3), is found north of Houma, Louisiana, on the west bank of Bayou Terrebonne. This 4,240-acre project was started in 1912. Considerable work was done in levering, building drains, and installing two pumps and motors, one a 24-inch centrifugal and the other a 48-inch screw pump. About 27 miles of drains were dug leading to Cane Bayou. The project was operated only a few years. Storms damaged it on several occasions. Seepage water proved excessive and costly to pump. But more important in terms of the project failure were the difficulties which arose between the developers and the settlers farming the land. The details of these difficulties are not available, but it is known that serious disagreement arose which ended in virtural abandonment of the reclamation.

Some \$124,000 in bonds were floated to finance this project, Since 1926 no principal or accumulated interest has been paid. All of the land in the district reverted to the State for non-payment of taxes. In recent months some of this land has been redeemed from the State, probably because of possible oil deposits.

Figure 3 shows several reclamations in Plaquemines and St. Bernard parishes, south and west of New Orleans. (Note projects Nos. 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, and 43, figure 3.) These are all abandoned projects. They were located in areas exposed to tidal overflow and therefore easily damaged by Gulf storms. The abandoned canals and drains of projects Nos. 41 and 42 can be seen on Delacroix and Shell Beach (Louisiana) Quadrangles of the U. S. Geological Survey. Engineering work was never completed. Reclamation District No. 1 (2,500 acres) of Plaquemines Parish (project No. 38, figure 3) was put in operation in 1914, work having been done in 1913. After a few years the project was abandoned. It is now shown as a flooded field on the Belle Chasse (Louisiana) Quadrangle.

Some of these abandoned projects, as Jefferson Drainage District No. 3 near Lafitte (project No. 33, figure 3) and Reclamation District No. 1 near Poydras, mentioned above, were substantial engineering jobs. About \$150,000 was spent on Jefferson Drainage District No. 3. Gulf storms are said to have damaged the project a number of times before it was abandoned. The Phillips Land Company spent large sums attempting to develop an 85,000-acre tract in Plaquemines and St. Bernard parishes, of which Reclamation District No. 1 was a part. Some of the elaborate machinery used by this company in dredging canals and building levees in the marsh is described by A. M. Shaw in an article, entitled "Land Drainage in Louisiana," Engineering News, Vol. 70, No. 7 (1913), pp. 301-303. No permanent reclamations resulted from the work of this company in the Poydras area.

Another abandoned project, the New Orleans Netherlands Company Drainage District (project No. 32, figure 3), on the western shore of Lake Cataouatche, was begun in 1912. About 2,120 acres were reclaimed. Part of the project was cultivated in 1914 and 1915 but was later abandoned. (See Lake Cataouatche West [Louisiana] Quadrangle, U. S. Geological Survey. Note that part of the district was never cultivated, though canals were dug.)

This brief discussion of abandoned reclamations is not exhaustive. Persons familiar with the area will be able to add to this list names of other abandoned projects.

Recent Experiments and Proposals for Reclamation of Coastal

Marsh Areas of Louisiana

That the desire to reclaim the marshes is a persistent one is borne out by the relatively recent attempts of the Plaquemines Parish Police Jury to reclaim by pumps some marshland in the lower part of the parish. The following notice, accompanied by a picture of one of the large dredges used, which appeared in the *Times-Picayune* of January 20, 1939, is reminiscent of advertisements seen in great abundance 35 to 40 years ago in Louisiana newspapers:

Pictured above is the powerful hydraulic dredge "Illinois" excavating a 65-foot drainage canal in Plaquemines Parish, La. Together with three pumping stations now being installed, it will reclaim over 3,000 acres of alluvial soil and further extend the orange and lily bulb growing belt of Plaquemines Parish. This is just one of the many projects, either completed or in the process, that is making Plaquemines Parish one of the outstanding spots in the entire

⁷⁸ The water-filled fields of this project are shown on the Barataria (Louisiana) Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological Survey.

South to live in or locate industries. Plaquemines Parish is among the nation's leaders in orange growing, shipping the famous Louisiana navel orange to all parts of the country. The canning of seafood is one of the great industries of Plaquemines and is constantly expanding. Sulphur from its mines goes to all world's markets. Oil production has surpassed all expectations and several gas wells have been brought in which are furnishing cheap fuel to Plaquemines industries. Truck farming, with one of the lowest tax rates in the state and paved highways, has shown rapid growth. It is suggested that if you are contemplating buying land out in the country or looking for an industrial location that you write R. P. Leovy, president of the Plaguemines Parish Police Jury, Venice, La., or telephone Raymond 0962 at 1510 Canal Bank Bldg. for further information about Plaguemines Parish which is just a "stone's throw" from metropolitan New Orleans.

Only a very few of the 3,000 acres were reclaimed. The parish lost heavily on the undertaking. This and many other reclamation endeavors in southern Louisiana, particularly those near the coastal cities, were inspired by land promotion and sale ambitions rather than true land development aims.

Another interesting proposal for reclaiming marshland is that which appeared March 16, 1946, in the St. Charles Herald (published in Hahnville, Louisiana, the seat of St. Charles Parish). The plan presented to the Police Jury involved a large triangular area south of Donaldsonville, bounded on the east by the levee of the Mississippi River and on the west by the high natural levee of Bayou Lafourche and lying to the north of the embankment of the Southern Pacific Railroad. In this entire basin, parts of 6 parishes (St. Charles, Lafourche, St. John, St. James, Assumption, and Ascension) are drained by Bayou Des Allemands. It was proposed to put a dam and pumping plant at Bayou Des Allemands in the vicinity of the Southern Pacific bridge over this stream, and thereby prevent tidal waters from entering the area, the drainage being pumped over the dam. The Federal Government was thought the proper source of funds for this proposed work.

While the above project proposal and similar ones have not received serious attention, they are nevertheless indicative of the thinking among reclamation enthusiasts and land developers in lower Louisiana.

Failure to Develop Intensive Crops on Louisiana Reclaimed Lands

Reclamation interests in southern Louisiana have not succeeded in developing an intensive type of agriculture particularly suited to the marshlands. Some vegetable crops were tried but when produced for the early market they were damaged by the cold air which drifted into the low-lying reclaimed fields. Citrus crops proved difficult to establish except on the higher terrace lands, and even for vegetables the higher natural levee land proved better.

Corn seems to be the one crop found on all reclamations. At Clovelly numerous specialty crops have been developed, but this is an exceptional case, most of the projects relying on common crops and pastures. Some of the pastures developed on reclaimed marsh are excellent and some of the finest herds of cattle in southern Louisiana can be seen on these pastures. Admirable as is this development, it does not represent a sufficiently intensive use of land to justify the original reclamation cost and the high annual upkeep.

Before beginning new reclamations in this area, the need for more intensive utilization of the land base should exist. At the present time no suitable crops have been found. The New Orleans market for vegetables and bulbs has not proved particularly attractive. Potatoes have been produced on some of the projects with fair success, but they are difficult to store in the area without expensive facilities, and many losses have occurred through improper storage.

Those long familiar with lower Louisiana frequently remark on the decling intensiveness of agriculture on the high lands along Bayou Lafourche. Many of those small farms and plots are now in pasture. Thirty years ago they were farmed intensively and supplied most of the family living and even some cash. Now many of the line settlements are the homes of city or oil field workers. Many household supplies, groceries, etc., are bought from the "rolling stores" so common in the bayou settlements. The trend among the small French-speaking farmers is to seek economic opportunity in the city rather than through intensive agriculture. This is not to deny the rather intensive farming carried on in certain of the line settlements but rather to point out that the native population has not in most cases

shown any particular interest in or ability to develop an agriculture suitable to the high cost conditions found on reclamation projects. This suggests a subject that has troubled and puzzled many students of Louisiana agriculture—the proper source of settlers for reclaimed land in Louisiana.

Source of Settlers for Louisiana Reclaimed Land

As stated above, most of the settlement promotions of reclamation companies in southern Louisiana were directed at Corn Belt and Lake State farmers. Seldom were local people considered suitable tenants or purchasers. We have noted the exception to this at Clovelly Farms where originally local French farmers were received as tenants. (As noted above, the experiment with local farmers failed largely because they were not accustomed to the proposed type of agriculture and accompanying work habits. They also failed to understand the requirements of successful landlord-tenant relations. Factors associated with economic depression and certain physical problems in handling soil were also involved in the failure.) The belief that the native farmers of southern Louisiana will not make suitable settlers for reclaimed land is still rather widely held among reclamation promoters. The local French farmers are considered too settled in their farming methods and village life to make good farmers on reclaimed land. So fixed is this idea that in 1924, A. T. Dusenburg, a drainage engineer and marshland promoter, said, "Louisiana has no surplus population to draw upon and any lands developed there must depend for their tillage almost entirely upon agriculturalists coming from other states and countries."79

The Louisiana State government has in the past seemingly assumed the attitude that out-of-State settlers for new land areas are to be perferred to native stock. Few States have engaged in such persistent land promotion as Louisiana. Most of this vast State literature has been directed to the Eastern and Northern States and to foreign countries. It should be said that in recent years this attempt to attract out-of-State settlers has been prac-

⁷⁹ A. T. Dusenburg, "Drainage and Flood Control in Louisiana," National Reclamation Magazine, July 1924, p. 122.

so See: Walter M. Kollmorgan and Robert W. Harrison, "Notes on the French-speaking Farmers of South Louisiana," Economic Geography, May 1946; Robert W. Harrison and Walter M. Kollmorgan, "The Place of the French-speaking Farmers of Southern Louisiana Future Land Development Programs," Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics, August 1946. These two papers deal at some length with the social and economic questions involved in land reclamation in the Louisiana French country.

ticed less persistently. Considering the severity with which the native population presses the available agricultural resources (particularly of lower Louisiana) it would seem desirable in future reclamation work to consider ways of utilizing the local population as settlers. If the Federal Government is drawn into marshland reclamation it will likely be on the basis of aiding the native population to acquire additional land resources and therefore economic opportunity. Admittedly the question of settlement in this instance is a complex one. The local population has shown no special interest in the intensive types of agriculture which alone can support the costly reclamations; immigrant groups have frequently found the French-speaking communities uncongenial. This difficult social problem must be faced.

Conclusions

The brief social and economic study of Louisiana coastal marshlands developed here leads to the following general conclusions:

1. Marshland reclamations in Louisiana were attempted without sufficient knowledge of the physical setting. In developing the coastal marshes of Louisiana for agriculture it is essential to provide protection from the tropical storms which frequently sweep inland from the Gulf carrying tides sufficient to damage reclamations behind any but the most substantial dikes. Little attention has been given to this characteristic of the coastal marshes. Louisiana's coast is in the path of seasonal tropical storms and if the marshes near the Gulf are to be utilized for agriculture, they must be protected by a substantial seawall or by heavy dikes around the individual projects.

The soils of many areas of marsh are not suited for reclamation. The experience at Clovelly Farms, and other projects similarly located, with high soil acidity, should serve as a warning against future attempts at reclamation of such soils.

Apart from the problems of soil acidity, toxic soil conditions, and related problems, the task of working the peat soils when they are first developed is alone sufficient reason to require a type of farm organization and management seldom possible on small units. Large investments in heavy-duty machinery is usually necessary, and other than conventional crops may have

to be grown on newly drained soils. Small operators with little capital and fixed notions of farming have small prospect of succeeding in ventures of this kind.

In developing the levee and drainage systems of Louisiana marshland projects, many valuable technical lessons were learned. In general, levees were not seepage-proof and thus led to excessive operation of the pumping plants. Drains were rarely constructed and maintained in such a fashion as to prevent shallow ponds form forming between the laterals. Reservoirs were seldom large enough, considering the tendency to install pumping plants with a theoretical capacity of only 1 to 1.5 inches over the area for 24 hours pumping but frequently with actual capacity of much less.

The wealth of technical engineering data concerning levees, drains, pumping-plant, etc., for the Louisiana marshland projects is a starting point for considering further reclamation projects. Many errors can be avoided by a careful study of pertinent reports, some of which are cited in this study.

2. Faulty settlement plans of Louisiana marshland developers. The high-pressure promotion used in selling the reclaimed marshes to immigrants (largely Corn Belt and Lake State farmers) led to much unwise investment and to a series of unhappy settlements which could have been avoided had more forthright methods been employed for attracting prospective farmers, selecting and settling them.

The common idea among land developers in Louisiana that there are no potential "new ground" farmers among the local population has led to much needless advertising for immigrant settlers. This activity has been, from time to time, encouraged by the State Government and even today the idea that Louisiana marshlands must be developed by farmers from other sections is frequently held in generally well-informed agricultural circles. The failure of the French-speaking farmers to pioneer in new farm areas, in the day when these were available, and the persistent tendency of the youth of southern Louisiana to drift toward the villages and cities in preference to agricultural employment has lent superficial support to the idea that local farmers are not suitable for "new ground" settlements.

The settlement schemes used by Louisiana marshland developers are among the most interesting aspects of the drainage movements in Louisiana and careful appraisal of these methods and their results should be basic to any future reclamation work in the area.

- 3. Failure to develop an intensive agriculture in reclaimed marsh areas. Throughout the history of Louisiana marshland development, no crops particularly suited to the marsh areas were discovered or developed. Agriculture here was dependent on the common farm crops, corn, grain, and potatoes. A few specialties were introduced on a limited scale, but no true industry developed, comparable, let us say, with the flower bulb industry of Holland. Failure to develop an intensive agriculture is one of the most serious shortcomings of the marshland reclamation movement. The high cost of drainage makes it virtually essential that specialized, high-priced crops be produced if economic success is to be assured. Apologists for this failure to develop an intensive agriculture frequently place responsibility on the poorly developed marketing system of southern Louisiana. Whatever the cause, future reclamations should not be attempted until it is relatively certain that intensive crops can be grown and marketed to advantage in the marshland areas.
- 4. Use and abuse of special improvement district financing in marshland reclamation. The poorly developed drainage laws existing in Louisiana at the time the marshland drainage work was initiated and the inability of the State Board of Engineers to supervise the reclamations adequately are doubtless major factors in the failure of the coastal reclamations. In many instances, however, where the intent of the laws was clear, the practice followed by promoters was contrary to the law and clearly not in the interest of all parties.

Where immigrants were settled on the drainage districts, they frequently had little concept of the improvement district "idea" and even less ability to understand the complex financial programs of the larger districts. A careful planning of the financial aspects of land reclamation is just as necessary as a thorough knowledge and plan of the engineering phase.

Major improvements have been made since 1900 in the laws regulating pump-drainage districts. Future reclamation work

will profit by the legal improvements, but careful educational programs among settlers will be needed if districts are to function successfully.

- 5. Uncritical attitude of Federal and State Governments to Louisiana marshland districts. The Federal and State departments of agriculture encouraged the marshland reclamation without being fully acquainted with the undesirable aspects of the drainage movement in lower Louisiana. Many studies, particularly of the engineering aspects, were conducted from 1903 to 1918 by the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The Louisiana State Government through its Department of Agriculture and Immigration encouraged the immigration aspects of marshland development. Both the Federal and State governments failed to conduct research into the broader social and economic aspects of marshland development. This lack of knowledge is responsible for many of the errors in the Federal and State attitude toward the drainage movement. A little more insight on the part of government agencies would have done much to prevent the many shortcomings, engineering and social, which characterized the colonization of reclaimed land in Louisiana. The failure to think in terms of desirable crops and production methods suitable for the peat soils and to look ahead for market opportunities are phases of the reclamation movement which might have been worked out with government assistance had the Federal and State programs been more purposefully organized to meet the social and economic questions rather than attack the details of engineering and project design, as was done. This is not meant as a criticism of the valuable detailed engineering done by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, but to say that it was not enough. Research in other fields was badly needed.
- 6. Relation of marshland reclamation to other uses of coastal marsh. Future agricultural drainage development in the Louisiana coastal area must consider the large muskrat industry of this area and the fact that duck hunting in certain areas is commercialized. In many areas these uses probably represent the highest economical use of the land. Penfound and Hathaway conclude: "Since drainage destroys valuable natural resources without producing benefits proportional to the reclamation costs it is probable that further reclamation should not be attempted in the near future in the marshes of southeastern Louisiana." 81

^{81 &}quot;Plant Communities in the Marshlands of Southeastern Louisiana," Ecological Monographs, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (January 1938), p. 51.

7. Federal Government reclamation of marshlands. Current developments in Lower Louisiana indicate that the Federal Government is looked to as the source of financial and technical direction for whatever large-scale marshland reclamation may be done in the future. The large expenditures of Federal funds (as well as private and State) for flood protection in the lower Mississippi Valley and the general satisfaction with the Federal flood-control program supports in part the claim that the United States should carry the flood-control effort to its logical conclusion—including land development and settlement. New reclamation efforts in the marshlands should reflect the lessons that can be learned from similar efforts in the past. This will be assured only if the past efforts of this kind are searchingly examined.